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PROFESSOR A. N. JANI

FELICITATION VOLUME

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*( Essays in Contemporary Indological Research )*

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*Edited by*

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DR. U. C. SHARMA

DR. NITIN J. VYAS

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# MESSAGE*

डा० अरुणोदय जानी.... एक सफल प्राध्यापक तो छेज उपरांत संशोधन मां पण निष्णात छे।....संस्कृत ना अनेक विषयो मां तेमनी गति छे अने विशेषता छे ते ओ आधुनिक काले रचनार संस्कृत साहित्य मां रस धरावे छे ते आणंद आपे छे तेउ छे। व्यवहार मां सज्जन अने धार्मिक वृत्तिवाळा छे ते तेमनी खास विशेषता जोवा मळी छे।

—दलसुख मालवणीया

अहमदाबाद

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# FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to write a 'Foreword' to the *Festschrift* for Professor A. N. Jani. Professor Jani is a distinguished scholar, and it is only fitting that he should be honoured with a volume containing excellent contributions by eminent scholars from all over the world. Although a systematic and historically oriented study of Hinduism and Hindu character and social structure has been underway for nearly 200 years, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that a good deal of work still remains to be done. Prima facie, the Hindu religion, character, morality, social structure and so on present a number of paradoxes that need resolution and raise a number of questions that require answers. A 'Foreword' is hardly the place to discuss or even sketch many of these paradoxes and questions. All I can and shall do is to list some of them in the hope that they will indicate the nature and magnitude of the task that awaits Indologists.

It is well-known that every community is distinguished by a specific manner of understanding and articulating its conception of the world. It is not always appreciated that it is also characterised by a distinctive manner of expressing its conceptual understanding of the world and conducting discussion about it. The Hindu culture is highly elitistic. It assumes that men differ greatly in their capacities and realise their full human potential in vastly different degrees. Only an extremely small number of men are capable of intellectual and moral excellence; the rest, although differing among themselves, are poorly endowed and not much can be expected of them. The caste-system is only a hierarchical and institutional manifestation of Hindu elitism.

The Hindu sages and seers, therefore, developed at least two distinct modes of communicating their insights, one appropriate to the few and the other suitable to the ordinary man. This dual mode of discourse permeates Hindu Philosophy, ethics, religion and social structure and runs like a red thread throughout the history of Hinduism. For example, the Hindus wrote the *Upaniṣads*, which are highly abstract and theoretical; they also wrote *Purāṇas*, epics and popular stories in which the Upaniṣadic insights were expressed in a somewhat crude manner deemed

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to be suitable to the masses. Similarly, they wrote theological texts consisting of highly concentrated aphorisms only comprehensible to those who have attained a certain depth of religious experience; they also however wrote popular theological texts which present their thoughts in a relatively crude language. The dual mode of Hindu discourse has been a source of misunderstanding for a large number of non-Hindus, who make the mistake of equating Hinduism with either its sophisticated or its vulgar form. By its very nature, Hinduism is articulated at both levels. The sophisticated thought is as much a part of it as the vulgar and the popular. Both alike are integral and inseparable parts of it.

There is also another distinctive characteristic of the Hindu mode of discourse. The Hindus have expressed their profoundest thoughts through symbols and myths rather than clearly stated theoretical proposition. Unless, therefore, one decodes the symbols and appropriates their intellecrual content, one is likely to misunderstand them. Let me illustrate my point with an example. According to a very common Hindu myth Brahmā, the creator of the Universe, created Sarasvatī, a charming daughter, whom he then seduced. Unlike the myth of Oedipus, which is one of the most ancient Western myths and beautifully sums up horror of an incestuous relationship between a mother and her son, the myth of the incestuous relation between the father and his daughter is one of the oldest in Hindu thought. If read superficially, a student of Hinduism is troubled by the fact that the myth should exist at all and, even more, that it should fail to arouse horror that its counter-part evokes in the West. However, if one decoded the myth, it would seem to contain an important philosophical truth. Brahmā stands for thought, and Sarasvatī for language and learning. A thought has no worldly reality unless it is embodied in language; that is, unless it enters the body of a verbal and public system of communication and appears as a word. All learning, all knowledge, is a result of, indeed, it is nothing more than thought embodied in language. Further, language is ultimately a product, a creation of thought; indeed, it is nothing but thought expressed in a system of sounds and letters. This epistemological insight is conveyed by the myth of the relationship between Brahmā and Sarasvatī. The relationship therefore appears to be wholly metaphorical and no longer horrifying. In short, unless one grasps the basic fact that the Hindus take certain truths to be so profound as to be expressible only through symbols, they speak in the language of symbolism, and that the cognitive kernel of a symbol must be distilled from its pictorial

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shell, one is in grave danger of misunderstanding their religion and culture. Every culture is complex and symbolic. Unless one evolves the key that unlocks its meaning, it remains incomprehensible. Hinduism is no exception, and requires its own distinctive hermeneutic techniques. Not many foreign and even Indian Scholars have grasped this central fact and have as a consequence produced bizzare accounts of Hinduism.

There are also other aspects of Hindu culture that require careful attention and investigation. The Hindus are generally believed to take a low view of women. This is certainly true. However, it is also true that no Hindu ceremony is complete without the presence of women, that there are as many Hindu goddesses as gods, and that the former are in no way inferior to the latter. What is more, the Hindus are the only people who conceive three most important human capacities and achievements as essentially feminine in nature. Wealth is symbolised by the Hindus as a goddess and not as a god. Similarly knowledge is symbolised by the goddess Sarasvatī, and power and energy by the goddess Durgā. A careful student of Hinduism is struck by the paradox that the Hindus take both an extremely high and an extremely low view of women.

There are also other paradoxes of Hindu culture. The Hindus have an acute sense of the past. Indeed, the Hindu theory of Karma implies that the past is a central dimension of time. Everything about a man—his liabilities, temparament, character and so on, is a product of his past deeds, so that the present and the future largely become footnotes to the past. Although they have an acute sense of the past, the Hindus surprisingly have no sense of history. They have shown little interest in recording their society's past or in preserving its integrity. No Hindu sage or seer has left an autobiographical record, and Hindu texts systematically confuse the actual and the mythical in their accounts of past events.

It is also striking that Hinduism both is and is not a religion. At one level it has a distinct conception of God, a set of religious ceremonies and rituals and a systematic theology. At another level, it is nothing more than a set of spiritual exercises and experiences which are almost entirely areligious in nature. Yoga, which is distinctive to Hinduism, is, for example, almost wholly secular and non-religious, although it is, of course, deeply spritual in nature. For the Hindus, Yoga refers to a set of activities by means of which a man is able to attain independence

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of the sensual and sensuous world, perfect his consciousness, transcend the sense of the self, and attain oneness with the cosmos. It culminates in *Samādhi*, which involves at once both physical death and spritual perfection. Yoga does not presuppose the existence of God and is accepted by the theistic as well atheistic Hindu philosophers. Hardly any commentator has noticed, let alone explained why, strictly speaking, Hinduism is not a religion or at least not a religion in the traditional sense, how it is at best a religion for the masses but only a spritual experience for the elite, and how it embodies a unique form of non-religious spirituality.

Again the Hindu ethics idealises *Niṣkāmakarma* and emphasises the elimination of all desires. At the same time, it is striking that Hinduism is an extremely practical religion which centres around the pursuit of self-interest. A Hindu offers nothing to his gods without expecting a desired reward. He will fast, offer prayers, engage in rituals, and so on solely in order to obtain from the relevant deity a specific material gain. Indeed it could be argued that Hinduism is a religion of institutionalised bargain, almost like a bazar in which God and men strike up mutually beneficial bargains. It is strange that a religion can be at once so hostile to material desires and yet also so hospitable to them, that it can be intensely practical and worldly and yet extremely impractical and disinterested.

One also detects several paradoxes in Hindu moral philosophy. Hinduism is one of the few religions to place an enormous emphasis on truth. Such maxims as God is truth, truth always wins, and is the highest moral value abound in Hindu religious texts. Yudhiṣṭhira was punished by God for such a venial sin as uttering only one ambiguous statement throughout his whole life, and that too in the middle of a war. And yet Hinduism sanctions uttering untruths under quite a wide category of situations. Indeed, in *Mahābhārata* Lord Kṛṣṇa utters over a score of lies and his conduct is widely applauded. It is also not a secret that the Hindu personal and social life is not exactly a model of truthfulness. The point is not that there is a contradiction between Hindu ideals and conduct. Such a contradiction is to be found in all societies, although, perhaps, it is more acute in India. Rather the point is that the Hindu morality advocates two different views on the importance of truthfulness and indeed on a number of other moral values. If one examined them carefully, one would notice that the two

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Hindu epics, namely *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* advocate quite different and at times contradictory ways of life. Rāma and Kṛṣṇa represent very different moral ideals. The Hindus claim equal allegiance to both epics, leaving one wondering how they come to terms with and reconcile their conflicting moral demands, whether in fact they ever succeed in reconciling them at all and how the inescapable contradiction is reflected in their day-to-day life.

The catalogue of real and apparent paradoxes and puzzles of Hindu life and culture is not exhausted by some of the illustrative examples listed above. The Hindu life and culture have too often been studied either by uncritical apologists or by hostile critics. It is about time we studied them both critically and sympathetically and with a view to making sense of their highly complex and even contradictory features. The present volume makes a worthwhile contribution in this direction by raising and grappling with some of the questions and paradoxes mentioned earlier. It deserves to be welcomed by all students of Hindu culture.

Vice-Chancellor,
M. S. University, B. C. Parekh
Baroda
April 30, 1983.

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# PREFACE

This volume brought out to felicitate Professor Arunodaya N Jani was conceived at the first two meetings of the ad-hoc committee in July-August, 1981, and after the letters soliciting articles had gone, the flow of material was steady, if rather more sluggish than expected. To that and to some difficulties at the press, compounded by the inevitable ones of finance, may be attributed the delay in publishing the Volume earlier. It is hoped however, the range and quality of the articles here make up for the delay, and reflect something of the esteem in which Professor Jani has been held by his peers.

Among the principal contributors to the fund for this volume, Shri Nanubhai B. Amin's name must take the pride of place. It says something of the culture of Baroda that it has industrialists like him who have a sense for the finer things of the mind.

Professor Jani's friends, students and well-wishers have also lent substantial support, as have the donors whose names appear ahead. The efforts in this regard of Dr. Kamal Kant and Dr. H. M. Joshi merit special inclusion.

The practical sense of Shri S. M. Dave of the Department of Sanskrit who with Shri Navinbhai N. Shah of the Oriental Institute looked after the accounts helped us in steering clear of many a pitfall.

Thanks are due to Professor B. C. Parekh, Vice-Chancellor, M. S. University, Baroda, who in the midst of pressing preoccupations graciously set aside time to contribute the foreword.

Finally, a special vote of thanks to Drs. S. R. Sarma and V. N. Shukla of the Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, for so readily and competently seeing some portions of the volume through the press.

Department of English,
M. S. University,
Baroda
March 1, 1983

Rashmikant N. Mehta
Chairman,
Professor A. N. Jani Felicitation
Volume Committee

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# EDITORIAL

We have great pleasure in putting out this compendium of articles on Indology. Most of the articles included are from the leading scholars in their respective fields in India and abroad. The anthology covers a wide range of subjects such as Indian Mythology, various schools of Indian Philosophy, the Epics and *Purāṇas*, Sanskrit Grammar including Linguistics, Classical Sanskrit literature, Political, Art and Economic History of Ancient and Mediaeval India as also technical subjects like *Āyurveda* and Metallurgy.

Several of these articles bespeak the intensive research and extensive industry as in the Concept of *Adṛṣṭa*, the Methods of Vedic Interpretation in the West, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Odyssey*, Trade Routes of the Orient, the Riddle of *Triṣaptāḥ* and the Identification of *Sidhraka*. There is some permanent value of such contributions.

The volume thus presents in a nutshell the variety of subjects in which researches are being carried out by different scholars in the country and outside. The field of Indology is so rich that hardly a small portion of the topics on which work is being done can be represented in a volume like this.

June 5, 1983

B. Datta
U. C. Sharma
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PROFESSOR A. N. JANI

DR. A. N. JANI has dedicated his life to the noble cause of traditional Sanskrit learning with a combination of the most up-to-date research methods and approach. The world of scholars will ever remain grateful to him for his yeoman services to this great language of the gods vouchsafed for the denizens of this land of sages and seers.........

—C. SIVARAMAMURTI

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।। श्रीः ।।

यस्या भालतलेऽमले सुविमलेन्दुः
शारदो राजते ।
नेत्रैः स्वैर्विजिता यया च सुषमा
पङ्केरुहाणां परा ।।
यस्या रूपमरूपणीयमतुलं
वाचाऽपि वाचस्पतेः ।
सा काली कलितापलोपनकरी
भूयान्मम श्रेयसे ।।

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I

# PROFESSOR A. N. JANI : A PROFILE

*PROFESSOR ARUNODAYA NATAVARLAL JANI* hails from the Trivedi family of priests of the *Mādhyandina Śākhā* of the *Śukla-yajurveda* living for many generations at Ahmedabad. On being adopted by the affluent Jani family, his father moved to Baroda. Young Arunodaya inherited from his father the knowledge of Vedic rituals and of Tantric modes of worship. Life for the family was rather simple and unostentatious, most of the time being taken up in the worship of the family deity.

Right from early childhood Professor JANI was a brilliant student and loved and admired for his outstanding achievements. His kinsmen and teachers at Schools and College encouraged him to develop interest in various fields of studies especially mastering languages, the fine-arts and the religious scriptures. It was from his teacher Professor G. H. BHATT that he learnt to cultivate interest in the different schools of Indian Philosophy particularly the Vedanta. From Professor Dr. S. S. BHAVE he imbibed the method of comparative study of the western scholars. His close and constant discipleship of the great oriental teacher Vidyabhaskara Pt. Manishankar V. UPADHYAYA gave him a firm grasp of Sanskrit grammar and a keen understanding of the other traditional *Śāstras* such as the Rhetorics, literature, *Dharmaśāstra*, etc.

The personality of Professor JANI was to a great extent moulded by these three distinguished scholars. The acquisition of the degrees of Ph. D. and D. Litt. on abstruse Śāstric subjects came easily to him. The culmination of his research orientation came from no less than the renowned German savant Professor Dr. L. ALSDORF, who was greatly impressed by the qualities of his young student. Professor JANI, too, was more than overwhelmed by the depth, sincerity and love of his teacher who was always ready to give him his utmost.

Professor JANI is at home in Indian Philosophy, Religion, *Sākta Tantra*, Sanskrit literature and the interpretation of the Indian music, the ritual-

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istic art and art-motifs. To these qualities of head must be added those of his heart, which are in no way less prominent. There is a poet in him, who often prompts him to compose in Sanskrit as also their parallels in Gujarati. His passion for promoting the cause of Sanskrit language, literature and Indian thought is no less conspicuous. His liberal outlook and the warmth of his affection can but be judged by the number of his friends and admirers who have been responsible for this humble attempt.

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II

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III

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मारा नानाभाई सद्‌गत प्रो० नागरदास काशीराम बांमणियाना एक घनिष्ट आत्मीयजन तरीके प्रो० डा० अरुणोदय जानी ने हुं लांबा समय थी ओलखुं छुं।

सद्‌गत प्रो० गोविन्दलाल ह० भट्टनो एमनां उत्कर्षमां गणनापात्रे फालो छे। आ शिष्य एवा उच्चकोटिना तैयार थया के प्रो० भट्ट पछी म० स० युनि० संचालित प्राच्य-विद्याभवन ना नियामक तरीके गुजरातना गण्यकोटिना विद्वान् डा० भोगीलाल ज० सांडेसरा आप्या अने एमनी लांबी सेवाने अंते निवृत्त थया त्यारे नियामक तरीके डा० जानी ने मूकवामां आप्या। स्व० चिमनलाल दलाल अने डा० विनयतोष भट्टाचार्य जेवा समर्थ विद्वानोनी परिपाटीमां बेसवुं ए सामान्य वात न थी।

आनन्द अने गौरव की वात ए छे, के अेओ तन्त्रमार्ग ना तो गुजरातमां कही शकाय तेवा अनन्य विद्वान छे। "तन्त्रशास्त्र प्रमाणे त्रिमूर्ति नी मान्यता" (The Concept of Trinity According to Tantraśāstra) ए एमनो ध्यान खेंचनारो लेख छे। वेदान्तमां पण शुद्धाद्वैत वेदान्तनुं एमनुं ज्ञान मार्मिक छे। ए पुष्टिमार्गीय दीक्षित विद्वान् न होवा छतां पण वडोदराना पुष्टिमार्गीय समाजमां अनेक कार्यक्रमोमां एमने निमन्त्रण आपी बोलाववामां आव्या कर्या छे ए एमनी विशिष्टता छे। एमणे वैदिक साहित्यनो अभ्यास डा० एस० एस० भावे जेवा उच्चकोटिना विद्वान् पासे साधेलो।

एमनी बीजी विशिष्टता छे तेमनो संस्कृत व्याकरणशास्त्र, अलङ्कारशास्त्र, सांख्य-शास्त्र वगेरेनो अभ्यास, संस्कृत पाठशालाओनी पद्धति अे बडोदराना सद्‌गत महापण्डित विधाभास्कर श्री मणिशंकर व० उपाध्याय पासे कर्यो। आंम पाठशाला अने-कोलेज उभय स्थले एमने संस्कृतशास्त्रोनो अभ्यास साध्यो होई एमनी विद्वत्ता विशिष्टपणे जुदी पडे छे।

वली, डा० जानीए संस्कृत फूटकर काव्यो उपरांत वर्तमान लोकप्रिय तरजो मां पण संख्याबंध संस्कृत गीतो रच्यां छे। समारंभो मां ए गीतो पोते रजु करता होये छे, त्यारे सांभलवा गमे छे।

मने विश्वास छे के एमने जे रीते नवुं नवुं शोधे आपवानी वृत्तिए अनेक संशोधन लेखो लख्या ते प्रमाणे निवृत्ति पछी पण चालु राखशे। प्राच्यविद्यामन्दिरनी ग्रन्थमाला सुप्रसिद्ध छे। हजी एमना प्रिय विषय तंत्र-मंत्र यंत्र उपर भारतनां अने भारतनी

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बहारनां पुस्तकालयोमां अप्रसिद्ध अनेक ग्रन्थ पड्या छे, आमांना महत्त्वना ग्रन्थो प्रकाशमां लावे ए भावना करतां आनन्द थाय छे। एमनामां शक्तिनां दर्शन थयांज छे। एटले आ अभिलाष करवानु मन थाय छे। शतं जीव शरदां वर्धमानः ।

—म० म० अध्या० केशवराम काशीराम शास्त्री

## मित्र : डा० अरुणोदय

मारा नजिकना जूना मित्र। आज चालीसेक वर्ष थी घणो नजिकनो अमारो सम्बन्ध। अमारा सम्बन्धमां मने जे सतत घेरती रही छे ते एमना निर्व्याज, निखालस तथा स्नेहाळ व्यक्तित्व नी फोरम।

अमो बन्ने बालपणथी वडोदराना एक विस्तारमां। एमनी कुटुम्ब परम्परा, जीवन रीति, विप्रोचित प्रणाली वच्चे, भारो उछेर एवो के शहेरभरनी विधविध प्रवृत्तिओ मां ठेठ बालपण थी हु सक्रिय। पण भाषा-साहित्य नो खास विषय लई कोलेजना पदवीवर्गमां आवतां अमारी ओलखाणे दोस्तीनु मूल स्वाभाविकपणे धारी लीधु। विसनगरनी कोलेजमां अध्यापक तरीके तो साथे, पण त्यां घर पण जोडा-जोड। स्थलफेर थयो तोये क्षेत्र एक, तेथी राजकोट-वडोदरा-अहमदाबाद एम मलीए। प्राध्यापक, संशोधक, विद्याव्यासंगी रूपेण डा० जानी ने नजीकथी जाणवा-जोवानु मने मल्यु छे। साचु कहूँ तो मित्र छतां त्यारे मनेए पूज्यवत् लाग्या छे। आणे आ अेमनी मूल रग ज छे।

गुजरातमां संस्कृतभाषा अने वाङ्मय आजे कई रीते वधु समृद्ध थतु रहे अने अेमां परंपरा-अर्वाचीनतानो सुमेळ केम मूर्त थाय ए विशे प्रा० जानीना विचारोथी हुँ वाकेफ छुं। संस्कृत वाङ्मय माटे पुरुषार्थ करवा खमतीधर एवीज जागृत शक्तिओ छे एमां (मारा आ मित्र) डा० अरुणोदय एक अग्रिम मशालची-साधक छे।

—प्रो० हसित बुच

## सन्निष्ठ, साधक अने सारस्वत

श्री-सरस्वती, सत्ता-सादगी, विद्या-विनय....आवां युग्मोनी शक्यता विषे हमेशा शंका ज सेवाती होय छे। परंतु डा० अरुणोदय जानी आवी विरल सद्भागी व्यक्तिओ मांना एक छे।

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तेओ गुजरातमां ज नहीं पण समग्र देशना-विदेशोमां पण लब्धप्रतिष्ठ-अग्रणी संस्कृत भाषासाहित्यना पंडितोमांना एक छे। पौरस्त्य परिपाटीनुं परंपरागत पांडित्य होवा छताँ तेमना माटे 'पंडित' करतां आधुनिक 'स्कोलर' शब्द वापरवो वधु उचित लागे छे। कारण पाश्चात्य परिशीलन-पद्धतिना परिनिवेशथी तेमना स्वाध्याय संशोधनादिमा एक प्रकारनी समतोल सम्यक् तटस्थ पण तथ्यग्राही दृष्टि प्रवेशी छे। अेनुं उत्कृष्ट उदाहरण तेमणे संस्कृत वाङ्मयमां 'विद्वदौषधम्' मनाता श्रीहर्ष ना 'नैषधचरित' विशेनुं करेलुं योगदान छे।

डा० जानीनुं प्रवचन एटले वाक्पटुताथी हिप्नोटाईज करे एवुं पांडित्यप्रचुर प्रवचन नहीं, पण धामे धामे भूमिका बांधा महत्वना मुद्दाओने सम्बन्ध दृष्टांतो साथे सांकली, रसावह शैलीमां केन्द्रीय विचारोनुं प्रतिष्ठापन करतो वार्तालाप, सहगोष्ठि। विषयना मुद्दाने ताटस्थ्यपूर्वक न्याय आपवा मथे। हा, एमनो आर्य संस्कृति प्रत्येनो अभिगम अने अनुराग कदी कदी आगल तरी आवे।

विद्याव्यासंगी डा० जानी पासे कलाकारनुं संवेदनशील हृदय छे। काव्यान्तर्गत सौंदर्यस्थानोने शोधन रसास्वादन करवा करावववानी तेमनी 'भावयित्री' मात्र प्राध्यापकिया नथी। संगीत अने ज्योतिष-विधाओमां पण तेमनी चांच वूडेली छे। श्रीकण्ठनी संगीत अने साहित्यशास्त्रने लगती कृति 'रसकौमुदी' ना संपादन माटे मुंबई युनिवर्सीटीनी 'डि लिट' नी पदवी प्राप्त करनार डा० जानी गुजरातमा सौ प्रथम अने एकमात्र छे।

—श्री महेन्द्रकुमार मो० देसाई 'कुमार'

My first meeting with Dr. Jani was in his office at the Oriental Institute. It was early in 1975. I evidently communicated to him a concern which was then very much on my mind. A book of mine had been "in the press" and I was worried by the slow pace of its progress. Dr. Jani was relatively new to his job as Director of the varied operations at the Oriental Institute. But it soon was to become clear to me why, among other reasons no doubt, he had been selected for the position. He put me at my ease, told me not to worry, that he would inquire into the matter. Within four months' time the book was off the press (*GOS*, Vol. 158, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Printed Texts of the Pāncarātrāgama*, 560 + xxxv pages), bound, and ready for circulation. I can only guess at the many problems he had to identify and then resolve in order to accomplish his task in so short a time.

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In May of that same year I met him again in his offlce. My purpose, then, was to leave with him a bulky, hand-written manuscript. It was the finished, press-ready copy for the proposed companion volume to the book mentioned above. Although I knew the format and contents of the buldging packet well—because I had worked with the materials for some years—I could scarcely envy anyone who had to come to it new and uninitiated. As is the nature of an index, some pages consisted entirely of numerical citations. Dr. JANI took the packet, opened it and examined the contents for some time. If he had any misgivings, he did not say so. As I prepared to leave, he wished me a safe trip home and, within minutes, I was leaving Baroda behind me on my way back to the United States.

During the following four years I was in correspondence with Dr. JANI quite regularly. He was untiring in his devotion to detail as he supervised that matter through the press, page by page, form by form. By the time I returned to India in early 1980 that second volume was off the press (*GOS*, Vol. 168, *An Annotated Index to Selected Topics Found in the Printed Texts of the Pāncarātrāgama*, 132+xxxiii pages). We both had reason to be glad. And relieved. A job was done !

When I last met him, then, in early 1980, our mood was one of celebration. Our correspondence had made us feel we were old friends. Tbis time I met him not at his office but at his home. His wife had graciously prepared a festive meal. Later that day we toured Baroda together, and he took me to many places he had known since childhood.

So, when I think of Dr. JANI, I remember him not only as the reliable, efficient and scholarly Director of the multi-faceted program at the Oriental Institute, and as a man who knows how to get things done, but also as a delightful host and enthusiastic friend. I look forward to meeting him many times in the future, whenever I am enabled to return to India. When I think of "Baroda," I think of my respected colleague and trusted editor, Dr. A. N. JANI.

—Dr. H. DANIEL SMITH

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## Revered Teacher

I had the privilege of being Professor Dr. Jani's student from 1952 to 1958. He was a very popular teacher of literature and grammar. When I offered Sanskrit as a special subject at B. A., I had the opportunity of coming closer to him. He encouraged me to write more in Sanskrit.

Dr. Jani had left for Germany when I was doing my M. A. I naturally felt his absence during the last important years of my college career, but he regularly wrote to me from Hamburg, and his letters were always in Sanskrit.

Dr. Jani has been able to attract his students and bind them in close family relationship. He has his 'Sanskrit' family and I am proud of being its member.

—Dr. S. N. Pendse

## Professor Jani As I know Him

Scholarship, pleasant manners, human approach and sociable nature are the chief characteristics that have made Professor A. N. Jani popular among his students, common people and learned scholars of India and abroad.

His stay for some years at Visnagar and his association with the Kansarā community by recitation of *Kālikāpurāṇa* and presence at the programmes of 'Raṅga-avadhūta-parivāra' there prompted me to seek his guidance in preparing my thesis for the degree of Ph. D. in 1966. Since then the close contact with him gradually developed.

Professor Jani's ready reference of grammar, literature, philosophical treatises, *tantra* and other branches of knowledge always put him in the first rank of the learned scholars of India and abroad. His presence at conferences and seminars makes the experience rewarding.

Professor Jani's aptitude for the spiritual knowledge helped him come close to Shri Raṅga-avadhūta, Dilipkumar Roy, Smt. Indiradevi, etc.

—Dr. D. G. Vedia

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## Sweet, Innate and Lofty Laughter

In 1956-57 when Dr. Jani was busy checking proofs of his Ph. D. thesis on the *Naiṣadhīyacaritam*, I was furtunate to have been associated with the perparation of the Appendices for his thesis. His guidance then proved to be the very first lesson in systematic research for which I am indeed beholden to him.

*Naiṣadhīyacaritam* has been his forte and he taught it so vividly that we felt that we were in the kingdom of Nala.

It was, of coure, as a result of his personal impact on us that we started the 'Saṁskāra-Saurabha' an institution to evoke and strengthen the love for Sanskrit in students at Padra.

Professor Jani has been to my mind, perhaps the only teacher known for his full-throated laughter. The corridors of Faculty of Arts often reverberated with his boisterous laughter.

—Dr. Ramanlal D. Pathak

## Dr. Arunodaya Jani—A Vidyā-Puruṣa

Lord Macaulay in his essay on the English poet Oliver Goldsmith writes that 'He was a versatile literany genius'. The same may be applied to Dr. A. N. Jani when his achievements be reviewed in the light of the present environment. It may be said of Dr. Jani that he adorns everything that he touches. When asked about, he is ever ready with the right answer to the questions relating to most of the *śāstras*, either recent or ancient. It is because of this vast familiarity with *śāstras*, he may be rightly called as Vidyā-Puruṣa.

I conclude with a prayer to the Almighty Mother.

"या श्रुतिःस्मृतिपुराणमण्डिनी,
कार्मुकं च शरशूलदण्डिनी ।
ब्रह्मचित्तसरसां मरालिका
मङ्गलं तव तनोतु कालिका ॥

—Prof. K. S. Shukla

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IV

# MESSAGES

I am very happy to know that you are preparing a *Felicitation Volume* to honour Professor A. N. JANI. I have great pleasure in expressing through you, on this occasion, my deep appreciation of the work he has done and extending my warmest good wishes for his future.

There are not many in the present-day to carry on the tradition of learning and Sanskrit scholarship, which is so necessary not only to preserve the essence of Indian culture, but also to relate and integrate the various regions of India. Professor JANI needs to be congratulated for being among the few who uphold the flag of Sanskritic learning and Indian culture.

27th October, 1981

RADHA BURNIER
President,
The Theosophical Society,
Adyar, Madras

I am glad you are bringing out a *Felicitation Volume* in appreciation of Professor A. N. JANI. I send my good wishes to him on his retirement and hope he will continue to make his contribution in the field of Indology.

Bombay
11. 9. 1981

HANSA MEHTA
First Vice-Chancellor,
M. S. University, Baroda

It gives me great pleasure to be invited to say a few words about Dr. A. N. JANI on his retirement as Director of the Oriental Institute.

I have known Dr. JANI ever since I came to the M. S. University as Vice-Chancellor in Baroda in 1958. In 1962, when I was in Germany, I visited the Hamburg University and the Professor with whom Dr. JANI worked there spoke highly of his scholarship. I always read with great

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interest both *Svādhyāya* and the *Journal of the Oriental Institute* and particulary his contributions. Dr. JANI has earned for himself an international reputation as an Indologist and great Sanskrit scholar.

I wish him long and useful life devoted to learning and scholarship.

Baroda
11. 9. 1981

JYOTINDRA MEHTA
Ex-Vice-Chancellor,
M. S. University, Baroda

Dr. Arunodaya JANI is one of the foremost scholars and teachers of Sanskrit. His profound scholarship and depth of thinking are reflected in his lectures on Tantra, Philosophy and religion.

Dr. JANI combines in himself both traditional and modern knowledge. The *Pāṭhaśālās* are the storehouses of traditional Sanskrit. But the knowledge preserved in the *Pāṭhaśālās* is hardly in touch with modern scientific methods of teaching lauguages and comparative studies. Dr. JANI possesses all that is good in both the systems—traditional and modern.

Dr. JANI's efforts for popularising Sanskrit are well-known He has contributed in enlivening Sanskrit by composing Sanskrit songs, *garbas*, plays etc.

As a staunch devotee of God, Dr. JANI truly loves God, and therefore men, because a lover of God is a lover of men.

I hope Dr. JANI will be able to devote more time to learning and studies after his retirement because he will be free from his heavy responsibilities. I wish him a long, healthy and prosperous life.

Vallabh-Vidyanagar
17. 9. 1981

R. M PATEL
Ex-Vice-Chancellor,
Sardar Patel University

I have known Dr. A. N. JANI since 1946, when he joined Visnagar College as my colleague. He came with brilliant qualifications and our expectations regarding his teaching and scholarship were more than justified. He has developed since then into a leading Indologist and won many distinctions. I am very happy that a *Felicitation Volume* is being

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prepared in his honour. I wish him long life and all health and happiness.

New Delhi
27. 11. 1981

V. K. GOKAK
President,
Sahitya Akademi

I am happy to note that a *Felicitation Volume* is being presented to Dr. A. N. JANI on the occasion of his attaining sixty years of age. I have had the privilege of knowing Professor JANI from our student days and it is a matter of great pride for all his contemporaries that he has maintained high scholastic standards throughout his life. May the Almighty grant him many more years of creative work and service.

I. G. PATEL
Governor,
Reserve Bank of India

Bombay
29. 11. 1981

At the occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday I send Professor A. N. JANI my respectful greetings and my best wishes. May Fate grant him for many years to come health, happiness and the vigour of mind necessary for fruitful research !

*āste bhaga āsīnasya ūrdhvas tiṣṭhati tiṣṭhataḥ |*
*śete nipadyamānasya carati carato bhagaḥ ||*
*caran vai madhu vindati caran svādum udumbaram |*
*sūryasya paśya śremāṇaṃ yo na tandrayate caran || caraiveti ||*

Marburg
29th October, 1981

WILHELM RAU
Philipps-Universitat,
W. Germany

I send my best wishes to Dr. A. N. JANI on the occassion of felicitating him for his *ṣaṣṭipūrti*, and trust that he will continue to devote himself to furthering the study of and interest in Sanskrit literature, and to propagating the values it stands for.

Ahmedabad
6. 10. 1981

H. C. BHAYANI

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Dr. Arunodrya JANI is a scholar of great eminence. It is in the fitness of things that a *Felicitation Volume* is issued on the occasion of the completion of his sixty years. The learned Doctor has to his credit very valuable research work; both in the University as the Head of the Sanskrit Department and as the Director of the Oriental Institute, Vadodara. He has worked on a wide variety of subjects. His learning is deep and the judgement sound. I wish him a very long and useful life devoted to the field of Sanskrit scholarship wherein he has been a shining gem.

J. H. DAVE<br>
Hon. Director,<br>
Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,<br>
Bombay

प्रोफेसर श्री ए० एन० जानीने मळवानो तेमनी साथे वातो करवानो समय मळे ते ऐक दुनियानो ल्हावो छे। तेमनी वात करवानी शैली तथा ज्ञानसभर वातो अने हास्यरस मिश्र कथन सांभळनारने आनन्द आपे छे।

सन्तः सतः पूजयन्तीह लोके<br>
नाऽसाधवः साधुबुद्धिं लभन्ते।

एमने सम्मानित करवानी प्रेरणा जेओने थई तेओ खरेखर तो मानार्ह छे। एमनुं अगाध पाण्डित्य, तलस्पर्शी छणावह अने तदनुरूप विवरण सांभळनारने तेमनामां मान उपजावे तेवा होय छे।

सौजन्यमूर्ति जानी साहेब आपणा भारतवासीओऐ गौरव लेवा जेवी व्यक्ति छे एम मने अंगत प्रतीति थई छे।

जामनगर<br>
२२. १०. १९८१ महामहोपाध्याय हरिकेश हाथीभाई शास्त्री

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# BLESSINGS

यात्रास्थानम् तिरुच्चूर (केरल प्रदेश:) २६. ६. १६८२

संस्कृत-शास्त्रपण्डितस्य तत्प्रचारणे निरतस्य देव्युपासकस्य आत्मगुणभरितस्य श्री ए० एन० जानिमहोदयस्य षष्ट्यब्दपूर्त्युत्सवस्मारकतया एक: अनुबन्ध: नैकपण्डित-लिखितविषयघटित: प्रकाशयिष्यते इति विदित्वा मोदामहे।

एष: महाभाग: एवमेव संस्कृत-शास्त्र - सेवामनुतिष्ठन् देव्यनुग्रहात् निखिलप्रेय: श्रेय: परम्परा: अवाप्नुयादित्याशास्महे।

जगद्गुरु-श्रीशङ्करभगवत्पादाचार्यपरम्परागतं
श्रीकामकोटिपीठमहासंस्थानम् —नारायणस्मृति:
काञ्चीपुरम्

श्री जानीत्युपाह्वश्रीमदरुणोदयानामभिनन्दनं चिकीर्षितं ज्ञात्वा मोमुदीति नश्चेतोऽतितरामेव।

प्राध्यापका इमे पाश्चात्यविद्याविभूषिता अपि प्राच्यविद्यामप्याकलयन्त: भारतीय-संस्कृतिसमुत्थानासक्ता नितरां विराजन्ते, इति प्रमोदस्थानम्।

एषां किलाभिनन्दनमतीवोचितमिति प्रसन्नांतरंगश्रीजगद्गुरुश्रीचरणीयाश्शुभा आशिषो लसन्तुतरां, एषामायुरारोग्यैश्वर्याभिवृद्धिपरिपुष्टा विद्यासेवा सातिशयमेधतां श्रीद्वारकाधीश-श्रीचन्द्रमौलीश्वरयोरनुकम्पयाऽकम्पयेति शम्।

निवेदक:
महाबलभट्ट:
मंत्री,
श्री द्वारकाशारदापीठम्

डाकोर
२. १०. १६८१

मानव आजे शान्ति झंखे छे, वैदिक संस्कृति अनुसार सर्वे प्रजा जीवन निर्माण करे तो विश्वमां शान्ति थई जाय।

आ शान्ति ना स्रोत नो विश्व ने परिचय कराववो जोइए। डा० अरुणोदय जानीए आ संशोधनमां जीवन समर्पित कर्युं छे। अंग्रेजीना विद्वान होवा छतां संस्कृत अने आ संस्कृतिनो सुभग समन्वय तेमनामां थयेलो छे। पौरस्त्य-साहित्यना अभ्यासनी

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असर तेमना जीवनमां पण घेरी पडी छे, तेओ तेमना अध्ययननो लाभ तेमना विद्यार्थीओने आपी वैदिकसंस्कृतिनी अस्मितावाळो शिष्यवर्ग पण उभो करी रह्या छे, ते मोटी सिद्धि छे ।

भगवान स्वामिनारायणना द्विशताब्दी महोत्सवे स्वामिनारायणनगरमां तेमनुं अभ्यासपूर्ण धाराप्रवाही संस्कृत प्रवचन सांभळी घणोज आनन्द थयो हतो ।

भगवान स्वामिनारायणने प्रार्थना करीए छीए के तेमने आरोग्यपूर्ण दीर्घायुष अर्पे अने तेमना द्वारा संस्कृत अने संस्कृति नी वधु ने वधु सेवा थती रहे अने तेनो लाभ विश्व ने मळतो रहे ।

अहमदाबाद —शास्त्री नारायणस्वरूपदासजी
१२. ६. १६८१ (प्रमुख स्वामी) ना
जय स्वामिनारायण ।

Jai Shri Bhuvaneshwari Ma !

We are much pleased to receive your letter conveying the details to honour Professor A. N. JANI, our veteran Sanskrit scholar and pride of Gujarat in the field of our great ancient culture. He is worthy of the strenuous efforts he has put in for life for the preservation and dissemination of the wisdom of our Rishis and Munis.

We convey our VEDOKTA BLESSINGS to our popular "JANI SAHEB".

GHANSHYAMJI
Gondal Acharyashree,
8. 9. 1981 Shree Bhuvaneshwari Pith

श्री

अरुणोदयता यस्याऽसायंसन्ध्यस्य केवला ।
विद्यायशः प्रभृतिषु जयतात्सोऽरुणोदयः ।।

(विद्या, यश आदि में जिनकी अस्तमयोन्मुखी सायं संध्या नहीं है, केवल अरुणोदयता ही है, ऐसे श्री अरुणोदय जानी महाभाग की विजय हो, यही मेरा आशीर्वाद है ।)

विंशत्युत्तरशतवर्ष ज्योतिष के अनुसार आपका यह केवल पूर्वार्द्ध पूरा हो रहा है । यशोवटतरु वटोदर में निर्मित हो गया है । अब इसका विस्तार उत्तरार्ध में एवं तदुत्तर भी कहाँ तक फैलता है यही देखना है । उदाहरणरूप में कबीरवट अनतिदूरस्थ है । आशा है एवं आशीर्वाद है कि आपका यश उत्तरोत्तर विस्तारी हो, चिरस्थायी हो ।

भरुच —श्री स्वामी काशिकानंद मण्डलेश्वर

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श्री अरुणोदय जानी साथे एक स्वजन जेवो मीठो सम्बन्ध सतत रह्यो छे। पूज्य श्री मोटा अने तेमना स्थापेला 'हरिः ॐ' आश्रमो साथेना एमना गाढ सम्बन्ध अने भक्तिथी ए नातो विशेष गाढ बनतो रह्यो छे।

संस्कृत साहित्य नी विविध ज्ञानशाखाओमां एमनुं प्रदान विशिष्ट रह्युं छे, एमनी अभ्यासपरायणता, ज्ञानोपासना, विकासोन्मुख नम्रता तो सौ कोई जनोने आँखे ऊडीने वळगे एवां छे। एमनुं जीवन, एमनां कार्यो अने प्रतिभा नवी पेढीने सतत प्रेरणादायक नीवडे एवां छे। एमने ओळखनार तरतज कहेशे के एओ सन्निष्ठ, सहृदयी अने सौम्य विद्यापुरुष छे। मेधावी गुरुओना चरणे बेसीने प्राप्तकरोला अमूल्य ज्ञानवारसाने तेमणे ऊंडा अध्ययन, अध्यापन अने संशोधन प्रवृत्तिओथी दिपाळ्यो छे। एमनी षष्टिपूर्ति ए तो एमनी विद्या-उपासनानुं एक अल्पविराम छे। परमकृपालु परमात्मा एमनी ज्ञान संपत्तिथी समाज ने वधु ने वधु उन्नत बनाववा एमने दीर्घायु बक्षे एवी शुभकामना व्यक्त करी विरमुं छुं।

नडियाद
८ ६. १९८१

—नन्दुभाई
हरिः ॐ आश्रम

May God grant Professor A. N. Jani a long life, unimpaired physical agility, clarity of thought and lively expression all through to enable him to contribute his scholarly expositions of so many interesting *Sastraic* themes in which he is a veteran. His devotion to the Almighty is the secret of his profound knowledge and His grace will carry him through.

—C. Sivaramamurty
Ex. Director,
National Museum,
New Delhi

Camp,
Baroda
8. 10. 1981

It gives me great pleasure to send my best wishes to Professor A. N. Jani, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda, on the occasion of his attaining sixty years of age.

I pray to Lord Sankara that He bless Professor Jani with many more years in service of our culture for the benefit of all scholars, be they Eastern or Western.

Madras
16. 9. 1981

—T. M. P. Mahadevan

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In these dismal days of ingratitude towards the elders and gross disrespect for those who are devoutly engaged in imparting education, it is heartening to learn that Dr. A. N. JANI, one of our lovable educationists, is to be befittingly felicitated when he completes sixty years.

From what I have known of Dr. Arunodayaji in the past three decades, I am inclined to believe that the student and teacher in him is effused with a balanced rationality.

His manifold dissertations, dramas and debates on socio-cultural and religious works, at once convince all that his chief motivation is moduated to the needs of intellectual and spiritual renaissance.

May his head, heart and hands remain young for a few more decades.

—KRISHNANAND

Bhadran
13. 9. 1981

It is in the fitness of things that a scholar of Dr. JANI's brilliance and eminence is honoured this way. His contribution to the field of Indology deserves a special praise.

On the occasion, I wish Professor JANI a long and happy life in which he will be able to offer further sound contribution in the field of Sanskrit literature and research in particular.

—Dr. B. B. TRIVEDI

Palanpur
23. 9. 1981

श्रीगुरुगणेशः

## सौहार्द-संवर्धनम्

१

अमरवचसां शिक्षादीक्षानिकेतन सम्भृतं
तिमिरनिकरं दूरीकुर्वन् करैरतिकोमलैः ।
तरुणिमपरिस्पन्दं चित्ताम्बुजेषु निवेशयन्
जनयति जनानन्दस्यन्दं चिरादरुणोदयः ॥

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२

विविधविषयव्यासङ्गात्तप्रबोधसुधारसै-
र्धवलितवचोदेवीलीलागृहो विनयोज्ज्वलः।
प्रणयिषु परं मानं तन्वन् प्रसन्नमुखाम्बुजः
सदसि सुधियां व्याख्याशूरश्चिरादरुणोदयः॥

३

असुलभतमग्रन्थोत्तंसान् विमर्शविभूषितान्
विबुधजनताहर्षोत्कर्षप्रदामनुवासरम् ।
प्रकटयति यः प्राचां वाचां समुद्धरणोत्सुकः
स जयति बुधश्रेणीहीरश्चिरादरुणोदयः॥

४

विमलवसनो विद्यासक्तो नवार्थविचारणे
प्रगुणितमतिर्मित्रश्रेणीविनोदपरायणः ।
गिरिवरसुतापादाम्भोजे मिलिन्द इवाऽऽचरन्
शिवमविरतं विन्दन् जीव्यात्सुधीररुणोदयः॥

५

भगवति! गिरां मातः! प्रातः समर्च्यपदाम्बुजे!
समयसुलभं खेदं मागाः कथञ्चन चेतसि।
विरमति तमी निद्रा विद्राविता प्रतिभाजुषां
विहरति न किं प्रज्ञाभानोः स्फुरन्नरुणोदयः॥

६

श्रीमद्-याज्ञिकवंशमण्डलमणेर्विद्याऽनवद्यात्मनः
शान्तस्वान्तजुषोऽरुणोदयबुधोत्तंसस्य शंसाविधौ।
सौहार्दाद् बटुकेन केनचिदुदयद्भावैकसारो गिरा-
मुद्गारो विनिवेदितो वितनुतां निर्मत्सराणां मुदम्॥

वाराणसी —प्रो० बटुकनाथ शास्त्री खिस्ते

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॥ श्रीः ॥

# मङ्गलाशंसनम्

मण्यग्राच्छाङ्कराऽङ्काद् बुधसदसि मणेः सर्वतन्त्राऽऽत्मतन्त्रात्
तन्त्राण्यासाद्य सद्यः प्रथयति भुवने स्माऽस्मयः कीर्तिराशीन् ।
तिष्ठन्नङ्घ्र्योः स्वयोर्यः शशधरकलया स्पर्धमानोऽधिमानाद्
आशर्मण्यं प्रदेशं द्विजपतिरतनोन्निस्तमिस्रं सुधोस्रः ॥१॥

पित्रोः पुत्रः प्रकृष्टोऽतिसुकृतसुलभः शस्यशिष्यो गुरूणां
सत्तातः सन्ततीनां निरुपधिसुहृदां स्नेहभाण्डं हृदेव ।
विद्याया हृद्यवेश्म प्रणयविनयोः प्रोच्छ्रितः संश्रयो यः
श्रीभक्तेर्वैजयन्ती क इह तदुपमां जातु लोके प्रयातु ॥२॥

विद्या आसेदिरेऽरं चतुरधिकदशाऽनेन हेतुर्गुरोर्द्राक्
तत्राऽऽनन्त्ये तु तासां कृतपदि सुगुणा एव हेतुस्तदीयाः ।
देशे यद्वा विदेशेस्वनुदिनमनिशं संविभागं प्रयान्त्यः
संवृद्धिं सर्वशेषां दधति तु तदिदं चित्रमप्रत्नमेकम् ॥३॥

पूर्वं रत्नानि रत्नाकरविवभवान्यापिरे यानि तानि
नाऽनार्किप्रापणीयान्यथ तु नयविदा जानिनाऽऽसादितानि ।
यान्येतान्यन्तरङ्गान्निषधपचरितस्यान्तहार्नि प्रयान्ति
त्रैलोक्यं दीपयन्ति स्वहृदि हृदयिनां दीपतां चोपयान्ति ॥४॥

बाल्यं सारल्यकल्यं हृदि लसति सदा कार्यगं यौवनं च
ज्ञाने वृद्धत्वमस्मिंस्त्रिदश इति दशस्वाविरास्ते दिशासु ।
सद्रत्नं गुर्जराणामनवनवयुगप्रेक्षयोः पारदर्शी
सर्वस्वं सज्जनानां सुधिषणसदसां भूषणं चास्ति जानी ॥५॥

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सदा वाणीलक्ष्मीद्वयकरकजाऽऽमर्शललितः
सतां हृद्दोलायामनिशमधिकस्नेहकलितः ।
अये ज्ञानिन् जानिन् ! कलुषकुहकाऽस्पृष्ट ! शरदां
शतं जीव्या लीला-नटवर-यशःकन्दल ! सुखम् ॥६॥

चण्डीगढ़ —डा० शशिधर शर्मा

श्रीहरिः

काकारिगीतचरितां हृतदृक्प्रसादां
सान्द्रान्धकारपरिधानयुतां तमिस्राम् ।
निद्राप्रदाननिरतामवसादयन्त—
मभ्युन्नतं तमरुणोदयमात्मनीहे ॥१॥

स्मेराननं मदिरकुङ्कुमबिन्दुभूष्य—
भालं प्रसादमधुरं तिमिरापहारम् ।
विद्यावदातहृदयं कविताविलासं
सत्कान्तिजानिमरुणोदयमीक्ष्यमीक्षे ॥२॥

यां चाभितो द्विजवराः कलमालपन्ति
प्राची चिनोति नवकुङ्कुमलेपकान्तिम् ।
श्यामां तृणैस्तुहिनमञ्जुलरत्नदाम्ना
सालङ्करोति धरणीमरुणोदयश्रीः ॥३॥

काव्येऽतिभव्यविभवे जटिलेष्वनेक—
सद्दर्शनेषु विहित प्रणयानुबन्धम् ।
प्राध्यापकं सततमर्जितसूच्यमानं
जानिं प्रसिद्धमरुणोदयमेधयामि ॥४॥

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सापत्न्यवृत्तिमपहाय परानुरागा—
च्छ्रीर्भारती च सततं सुपरिष्वजेते ।
कीर्तिप्रियं कुशलवल्लभमाश्रयेते
प्रीते स्वयं प्रकुरुतो मुदितं तमेतम् ॥५॥

आकूतमुद्धरति शास्त्रविचारपूत—
माशैशवात् सुरगिरः प्रणयाग्रदूतः ।
लोकोपकारनिरतः प्रथते निसर्गात्
सौम्यः शुची रुचिरचारुचरित्रशीलः ॥६॥

वाणी सुधामधुरिमाणमधः करोति
प्रीतिर्विदां हृदयमात्मवशे रुणद्धि ।
नैसर्गिकी सुजनताऽन्यजनान्तराले—
प्यात्मीयतामविचलामुपदीकरोति ॥७॥

अभ्रङ्कषा प्रकृतिरुन्नत शैलशृङ्ग—
तुङ्गत्वमाक्षिपति ते भुवनोदरेषु ।
गंभीरता तव तु नीरनिधेरगाधां
मोघाभिमानसरणिं प्रसभं क्षिणोति ॥८॥

व्याख्यानपाटवमुदित्वरकीर्तिलक्ष्म्यै
सत्संस्कृतेन सदसि प्रकटीकरोषि ।
ग्रन्थप्रकाशनविधिं निपुणं स्वविश्व—
विद्यालयस्य सुयशस्करमातनोषि ॥९॥

प्राचीनदेववचनेऽद्यतने च विश्व—
भाषाऽभिभाषणविधावथ भारतीये ।
वाग्वैभवे प्रकटितात्मपर - प्रकर्षः
कोऽन्यो भवानिव विभाति बुधाग्रगण्यः ॥१०॥

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नारायणानुगतभागवतप्रशस्त-

सप्ताहयज्ञपरिपालनसद्व्रतस्य ।

पाठे शुचिप्रवचने हरिनामधाम-

लीलाविलासकथने तव कः समानः ॥११॥

त्यक्तालसः सततसेवितसत्यविद्यः

सत्कीर्तिसंयमधनेषु बुधेषु धुर्यः ।

राष्ट्रेश्वरप्रतिनिधिर्निधिरार्जवस्य

धन्यो भवानिव भवान् किल भाति देशे ॥१२॥

कल्याणकल्पलतिकामिव धर्मवल्लीं

ग्रीष्मेऽपि सिञ्चसि निजोज्ज्वलजीवनेन ।

अव्याजभव्यहृदयो हिं निषेवते स्वं

लक्ष्यं वहन्नपि सुदुःसहदुःखजातम् ॥१३॥

छात्रेषु लेखनकलाकुशलेषु सत्सु

सम्पादकेषु विबुधाधिपशेखरेषु ।

शश्वत् कवीन्द्रतिलकेषु रसेश्वरेषु

कोऽन्यो भवानिव परां लभते प्रतिष्ठाम् ॥१४॥

केन्द्रीयमन्त्रिनिवहेष्वथ सांसदेषु

प्रान्तीयकर्मठविधानसभाञ्चलेषु ।

विद्वत्सु नागरिकबुद्धिमतां वरेषु

धन्यो भवान् सदृशमेव विभर्ति मानम् ॥१५॥

जीव्याः समाः शतमनामयमात्मभासा

दिङ्मण्डलं वितिमिरं विदधत् सुधीन्द्र !

इत्याशया नमति साञ्जलिबन्धमीशं

मृत्युञ्जयं तव गजानन एष बन्धुः ॥१६॥

वाराणसी

—डा० गजाननशास्त्रिमुसलगांवकरः

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श्री:

वेदशास्त्रतन्त्रपुराणाद्यनेकविद्याविभूषितानां सौजन्यमूर्त्तीनां महाराजसयाजिराव-विश्वविद्यालये विनयनविभागीय - संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षाणां प्राच्चविद्यामन्दिराध्यक्षाणां संप्रति निवृत्तिमाश्रितानां श्रीमतां प्रोफेसर डाक्टर-श्री-अरुणोदय - नटवरलाल - जानी (M. A., Ph.D., D. Litt.) महाभागानां शुभाशंसनम् ।

स्वातौ शुक्त्युदरस्थितं घनजलं यद्वद् भवेन्मौक्तिकम्
तद्वत् पूर्वजपुण्यसञ्चयवशात् कालीकृपावीक्षितः ।
बिभ्रत् तत्त्वसुधासरो विनययुक् सारस्वतं धामकम्
जातः श्री-अरुणोदयो गुरुपदं संसेवमानः कृती ।।१।।

मेधावी गुरुपाठितं ह्यविरतं स्वान्ते समारोपयन्
बाल्ये वेदगिरञ्च शास्त्रनिचयं सत्तत्त्वमुक्तावलिम् ।
ब्राह्मीं संस्कृतिमाचरन्नविकलो ह्याङ्ग्लागमान् धारयन्
'विद्याभास्कर'-पादपद्मरमणो जातो निधिस्तेजसाम् ।।२।।

नानाशास्त्रपयोविगाहनपरः पारं विदां वारिधेः
प्राप्य श्रीमणिशङ्कराख्यसुगुरोर्विद्वद्वरेण्यात् सुधीः ।
विद्याकल्पतरोः सयाजिनृपतेर्विद्यालये जागते
प्रोच्चस्थानविभासितो विजयते सारस्वतः पण्डितः ।।३।।

विद्यादायहरेष्वनेकनिगमेष्वापादयन् प्रौढताम्
छात्रेष्वागमकोविदेषु महसा वाचस्पतेः सम्पदम् ।
वैदुष्येण विवेचनेन सुधिया देशाननेकान् पुनन्
कीर्त्तिं स्वां प्रथयँल्लसत्यनवमां पारेसमुद्रं गताम् ।।४।।

सौजन्यं विनयो नयः श्रुतिचयो धर्मैकनिष्ठा दृढा
स्वाचारो गुरुभक्तिरप्यविचला विद्वत्समाजे रतिः ।
कालीपादनतिर्मतिश्च विमलोपाध्यायपादश्रितिः
किं किं नास्त्यरुणोदये गुणनिधौ विद्वद्वरेण्यैर्नुते ।।५।।

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शाब्दे वेदचये कणादनिगमे साहित्यवार्धौ स्मृतौ
सङ्गीते च कलासु संभृतमतिर्वेदान्ततत्त्वाम्बुधौ ।
अक्षुण्णा गतिरस्य वित्परिषदि प्रोल्लेखनैर्भाषणैः
संशोधैः प्रविराजते मतिरहो वैदष्यपूर्णा स्थितिः ॥६॥

केचित् संस्कृतपाठकाः स्वजननीं भाषां मृतो मन्यते
अन्ये भारतसंस्कृतिं प्रतिदिनं सञ्चूर्णयन्ते पुनः ।
वेदे संस्कृतिमारचय्य पुरतो धर्म्यां सृतिं पालयन्
जानी श्रीअरुणोदयो विलसताञ्जीव्यात् समानां शतम् ॥७॥

श्रीमद्रङ्गपदाब्जसेवनपरो विद्वद्यशोभूषणः
विद्यासन्मतिनीतिधर्मपरमः सौजन्यवारां निधिः ।
अन्तेवासिमनोविलासचतुरो विद्वत्समाजादृतः
जानी श्रीअरुणोदयः सुरगिरामेकाश्रयो भासताम् ॥८॥

वटपत्तनम् —शास्त्री लक्ष्मीशङ्कर गौरीशङ्कर शुक्लः
२५. ११. १९८१

श्रीजानी पार्वतीजानेरनुकम्पां परां भजन् ।
स्वस्थः सुधीः सुखी जीव्यात् सखा मे शरदां शतम् ॥१॥

जिह्रेमि भावकुसुमान्यपि दुर्लभानि किंचन्न रम्यमिह यत् सुहृदेऽर्पयेयम् ।
पत्रं नवं नवतरोरहमाकलय्य तुष्यामि ते समुपहरन्नवकाशशून्यः ॥२॥

जानी पण्डिततल्लजो विजयते प्राच्यां प्रतीच्यां पुन-
र्विद्यां सम्यगुपास्य शास्त्रनिचये सिद्धाधिकारो महान् ।
स्वाध्यायव्यसनः श्रुतिस्मृतिगिरामाराधकोऽध्यापको
मान्यस्तत्त्वविदां सदैव सुधियां सत्यव्रतः सज्जनः ॥३॥

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अक्षराणि कतिचित् किल चित्त्वा स्वागतं तव करोमि महात्मन् ।
उन्नतौ यशसि चायुपि मोदे सर्वदैधि सफलः सुफलस्त्वम् ।।४।।

राष्ट्रीयसंस्कृतसंस्थानम्
नई दिल्ली —डॉ० रामकरणशर्मा

आबाल्याद् वेदविद्याव्यसनरतिरभूद् यस्य तीव्रा च मेधा
प्राप्ता नैसर्गिकी यं गुरुजनकृपया वर्धितेता च काष्ठाम् ।
विद्यासोपानपङ्क्ति क्रमशः उदतरद् भिन्नाभिन्नं पदं यः
ख्यातो नाम्नाऽरुणोऽयं विलसति भुवि संपूज्यते वन्द्यतेऽद्य ।।१।।

इह शास्त्रविदो वदन्ति ते
विबुधं जानिमहोदयं विना ।
युनिवर्सिटिरद्य तत्त्वतो
रहिता ज्ञानवले भविष्यति ।।२।।

श्रद्दध्महे वयमिहाऽद्य तथापि नूनं
प्राध्यापका अरुणजानिमहोदया यत् ।
स्थास्यन्ति योग्यसमये समये विनीता
वक्तुं प्रवक्तुमपि शास्त्रविनोदहेतोः ।।३।।

वटपत्तनम् —केशवलालत्रिवेदीवेदान्तशास्त्री

आहूतेन मदीयवन्धुचरणैरागत्य मन्मन्दिरं
तेषां मानसतो विदेशबसतौ चिन्तातमो नाशितम् ।
इत्थं येन तदा विदेशगमने साह्यं मदीयं कृतं
तस्मै श्री-अरुणोदयाय गुरवे नम्रा मदीया नतिः ।।१।।

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गोत्राणामुपमन्युगोत्रविरले जानीकुले योऽभव-
दाशारामज-रामशङ्करसुतस्तोलापुरः शङ्करः ।
डाह्याभाइसुतस्ततोऽवहदुजम्बेनं जडाव्वां यतो,
पुत्री चन्द्रमणी तयोः सुविरले दत्ता त्रिवेदीकुले ॥२॥

वेणीरामजहिम्मतान्नटवरो मातुर्गृहीतः कुले
सन्तोक्रामकशुक्लपण्डितजनुर्यो नर्मदाशङ्करः ।
नाथालालसुतस्ततश्च कुलजा लीलावती सत्सुता
तस्यां संस्कृतरागभृन्नटवराज्जातोऽरुणरयोदयः ॥३॥

येन श्रीजयशङ्कराख्यगुरुतोऽधीता यजुःसंहिता
विद्याभास्करतो मणेरधिगता श्रीपाणिनेर्व्याकृतिः ।
भावे-भट्टगुरुद्वयादधिगतं शास्त्रादिकं निर्मलं
मोटा-रङ्ग-गुलविणसङ्गलसितं तस्याऽभवन्मानसम् ॥४॥

तस्मात् कुसुमागौर्यां जाताः पञ्चैव पाण्डुपुत्राः ।
मार्कण्डेय - पीयूष - जयदेव - हेमन्त - हसिताः ॥५॥
रेखा-गीतेति पुत्र्यौ सर्वैर्वहते सुखं स दाम्पत्यम् ।
पुत्राः श्रेष्ठपदेषु स्थित्वा जननीजनकावर्चन्ति च ॥६॥

तेष्वेक एव जयदेवकविर्विभाति,
विद्यां पितुः समगत स्वपरम्परायाः ।
अन्येऽरुणोदयसुताः प्रवराश्च विद्या–
पुत्रा वहन्ति वरणीयपदं तदुच्चम् ॥७॥

यस्येष्टदेवता काली वाणी समुचिता तथा ।
संशोधाध्यापनाभ्यासैस्तस्य स्याद् देवताद्वयम् ॥८॥

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यो नैषधीयचरितेऽध्यगमत् पि०-एच० डी०
डी० लिट्० स आप पदवीं रसकौमुदीषु ।
कालीपुराणमथ सप्तशतीं च देव्याः
संशोध्य कार्यरतिमात्मगतां दिदेश ।।९।।

यो नानुभाइ सुकृतस्य वरेण्यमित्रं
वक्ताऽस्ति यो विविधशास्त्रचये विदग्धः ।
शर्मण्यदेशविदुषोऽग्रिमशिष्यतां च
नन्वाल्सडोर्फसुगुरोरभजद् विनम्रः ।।१०।।

बुद्धावग्रिमता त्वरा श्रुतिविधौ शास्त्रे तथाऽभ्यासके
यस्य श्री-अरुणोदयस्य भवति ख्यातिर्विदेशे ततः ।
आचार्यादिपदं दधाति च महाविद्यालये संस्तुते
शास्त्राभ्यासयुतं स एव जयते स्वेजीवने छात्रकैः ।।११।।

इति प्राभाकरीयोऽयमञ्जलिर्विनिवेद्यते ।
शब्दपुष्पान्वितोऽर्चाययामरुणोदयपादयोः ।।१२।।

वटपत्तनम् —प्रो० डा० प्रभाकर केशव डोंगरे

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# PART : TWO

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Sadashiv A. DANGE, Bombay :

# THE BIRTH OF GAṆAPATI

The god Gaṇapati gets into prominence in the early years of the Christian era, and has been a very important deity since then to the present day. The article focusses attention on the mythical account of the birth of Gaṇapati, or the creation of Gaṇapati from the body-dirt of his mother, Pārvatī. The account is famous and the Purāṇic texts note it. According to one version the gods were worried to see that the heaven was too full of the humans, that reached it, to accommodate any more. Hence, being worried about their own problem of accommodation, the gods requested Śiva to devise a means to check this immigration. Hearing the request of the gods, Śiva glanced at Pārvatī. She caught the hint and began rubbing her body. She took the dirt that came forth and formed it into a human figure, having the head of an elephant. The new god was instructed to cause calamity to men; and the gods were happy that the human influx was kept in check[1]. In another version of the account, it is said that the god Vāyu once told Śiva that they were worried as Śiva had no progeny who could protect them. On hearing this, Gaurī got angry and left Śiva and went to the mountain Arbuda to practise penance. After some time Śiva approached and told her that she would get a son on the fourth day, born from the dirt of her own body. On the fourth day thence, Pārvatī took her bath; and removed the dirt that had collected over her body and created a human figure which was none other than Gaṇeśa[2]. According to yet another account, Pārvatī took the dirt from her body just in fun *(vinodanārtham)* and created only the body. Hence, Skanda, Śiva's other son, placed the head

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1. *Skanda Purāṇa* VI. 142.9-19.
2. *Ibid*. VII. 3.52; 5.30—

चतुर्थे दिवसे प्राप्ते ततः स्नात्वा शिवा नृप ।
तदोद्वर्तनजं लेपं गृहीत्वा कौतुकात्किल ।।
चतुर्भुजं चकाराथ हरवाक्याद्विनायकम् ।।

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of an elephant on it[3]. According to the *Vāmana Purāṇa* Umā Pārvatī, prepared a human figure from the dirt of her body. In doing so, she mixed also the perspiration from the body of Śiva into it. And from that union Gaṇeśa sprang up[4]. Almost the same account, except the mixture of the perspiration of Śiva, occurs in the *Śiva Purāṇa*; but it says that Pārvatī placed this new one at the gate lest anybody should enter. When Śiva arrived, he did not know the stranger and chopped off his head; but later the head of an elephant was attached to the body[5]. The motif of the elephant-head is common and is obtained in other *Purāṇas* also; but, we are not concerned with it in this study, as we concentrate on the 'dirt of Pārvatī'. The *Matsya Purāṇa*, which tells the same story about the creation of Gaṇapati from the dirt of Pārvatī's body adds some details. According to it, when the figure was created, Pārvatī threw it into the waters of the Gaṅgā; hence, Gaṇeśa is called Gāṅgeya. Here Pārvatī is said to have rubbed her body with fragrant oil, and dirt came out easily.[6]

The accounts noted above show the birth of Gaṇeśa from Pārvatī, and from the dirt of her body. Independent of this motif, there are accounts where the birth of Gaṇeśa is associated only with Śiva. One account that has been noted above has the perspiration of Śiva mixing with the dirt of Pārvatī. According to one account, when Śiva glanced at Pārvatī and laughed, from his laughter Gaṇeśa was born. Umā looked at this child with admiration. This created jealousy in Śiva who cut the child's head; and later an elephant-head was fixed[7].

Another account from the *Skanda Purāṇa* which uses the motif of birth from the laughter of Śiva in the case of Gaṇeśa, mixes it with the concept of the *Sāṅkhyas*. It is said that Śiva killed Gaṇeśa, as the latter once engulfed the whole world with the fire he jocularly created; and later when Śiva and Gaṇeśa were discussing the creation of the universe from the three cardinal qualities of *sattva, rajas* and *tamas*, the "womb of the universe" in the form of Pārvatī opened up from the emblem of Śiva, the *Liṅga*. Thus, Gaṇeśa was created from the prime principle *Prakṛti*;

3. *Ibid.* 4-10.
4. *Vāmana Purāṇa* 28. 58-72.
5. *Śiva Purāṇa* II. 17. 42-47.
6. *Matsya Purāṇa* 153. 500-504.
7. *Varāha Purāṇa* 23. 7 ff; according to the account, this took place on the 4th bright of *Māgha*.

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but, being born from *Prakṛti,* Gaṇeśa again fought with Śiva, and got killed. Śiva then revived him from his laughter[8]. The account is a combination where the birth of Gaṇeśa is connected with both Pārvatī and Śiva, but ultimately with Pārvatī, though Śiva is said to revive him. In mythical accounts laughter obtains, like perspiration and other elements connected with the body, as the cause of birth[9].

We leave the point as unconnected with the main argument, which is the birth from Pārvatī, and generally from the dirt of her body. In doing so we shall see the real nature of Pārvatī in such myths. For that we have to turn to one of the dates and the days meant for the worship of Gaṇeśa.

Generally the fourth of the bright half is the day for the worship. But, the months differ. The common month for this worship is *Bhādrapada*; and this detail is corroborated from the Purāṇic texts, which record a number of places for the worship and the installation of the images of Gaṇeśa, mentioning the god's various names at various places[10]. The fourth bright in the month of *Māgha* and *Phālguna* is said to be special for him in his aspect of Durgakūṭa-Vighneśa at a place to the east of Bhalla-tīrtha and to the south of the Yoginī-cakra in the Prabhāsa region[11]. The tenth day in the month of *Āśvina* is mentioned at Āvantī[12]. A special day for his worship by students is mentioned, and it is Friday. This is in connection with the idol of Gaṇeśa established at Hāṭakeśvara by Vararuci for the benefit of students[13]. But, the most important day,

8. *Skanda Purāṇa* I. 1. 10. 19-34.
9. e. g. *Śiva Purāṇa* II. 42; *Vāmana Purāṇa* 44. 41 ff; *Skanda Purāṇa* VII. 167. 104-9; and others for perspiration; likewise from anger and laughter birth takes place, the motif in these cases being the body-fluid, body-vapour and even energy in excitement. I have collected various such motifs in my *Encyclopaedia of Puraṇic Beliefs and Practices*, forthcoming.
10. See *Skanda Purāṇa* IV 57. 59 ff where various Vināyakas around Kaśī, arranged in circles after circles are mentioned; *Ibid*. VII. 309. 3 ff. for Gaṇeśa idols in the Prabhāsa region. etc.
11. *Ibid*. VI. 142. 42 for *Māgha*; also *cf. Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*., *Brahmakhaṇḍa*, 31. 16-18; for *Phālguna*, *Skanda Purāṇa*, VII. 349. 2-3. See note 15 below.
12. *Ibid*. V. 1. 63. 53-55.
13. *Ibid*. VI. 131. 50—

स्थापितोऽत्र शुभे क्षेत्रे येन विद्यार्थिनां कृते ।
समाराध्य विशेषेण चतुर्थ्यां शुक्लवासरे ॥

and 51—

महागणपतिर्भक्त्या सर्वविद्याप्रदायकः ।

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which is also directly connected with the present discussion, is Tuesday, falling on the fourth of a month *(aṅgāravāsaravatī......caturthī)*[14]. This day is special also to the planet Mars, who is the Maṅgala of the Hindu calender. The association of Gaṇeśa with this day (called also *Aṅgāraka-caturthī*, or *Aṅgārakī caturthī*) is seen from an account. It is said that in ancient times when Śiva, called by the name Bhīma, was in sexual union with Umā (=Bhīmā), a drop of blood from the genital part of Umā fell on the earth. The earth bore it in joy, though with great effort. Thence was born Maṅgala, also called Kuja (ku=earth; hence, *ku-ja*, "born of the earth"). Maṅgala is also called Bhauma, as he is born from *Bhūmi* (=Earth)[15]. It is said, that the birth of Maṅgala from the blood of Umā took place on the fourth day[16]. And, that as Gaṇeśa is also born from Umā, this day of Maṅgala is auspicious to him. The scheme of concepts is as follows :

Umā (genital blood)→Earth→Maṅgala (Kuja)

Umā (Pārvatī)=Gaurī→body-dirī →Gaṇeśa.

The point to be noted is that the genital blood is called *rajas* and the dirt is also *rajas*. Gaurī has been set in the tradition as the deified Earth. This would mean that both Gaṇeśa and Maṅgala are connected with the Earth-cult primarily. Hence it is that in the birth of Gaṇeśa, Śiva figures only secondarily. Obviously, the colour of the planet Mars must have suggested the drop of blood; but the other point is of birth from the earth. Apart from the fact that the birth of Mars from the earth is a scienctific fact, we are concerned here with the association of Gaṇeśa with Maṅgala. As the earth comes in the myth of the birth of Gaṇeśa in her form as Umā, Pārvatī or Gaurī, so does she get connected with

14. *Ibid.* IV. 57. 44 ff.

15. *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.*, *Brahmakhaṇḍa* 31. 16-18—

पुरा मैथुनमाश्रित्य स्थिताभ्यां तु हिमाचले ।
भीमोमाभ्यां महाबाहो रक्तबिन्दुश्च्युतः क्षितौ ।।
मेदिन्या सप्रयत्नेन सुखेन विघृतोऽनया ।
जातोऽस्याः स कुजो वीरः रक्तो रक्तसमुद्भवः ।।

16 *Ibid* ; this day is called *sukha-caturthī*, "Day of Pleasure", as the earth held the drop with *sukha*, "pleasure".

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Maṅgalā in one more aspect of hers as Maṅgalā Gaurī[17], which is another name of Pārvatī.

The motif of the 'blood-drop' explaining the colour of Maṅgala (the planet Mars) is also present in the case of Gaṇeśa. Gaṇeśa is of the colour of the zinc oxide (*sindūra*) and the tradition is still in continuation. It is also said that one should worship Gaṇeśa after wearing red garments[18]. It is also enjoined that the image of Gaṇeśa should be smeared with red sandal-paste after giving it a bath[19]. The redness, with the utmost probability, goes with the blood-drop of Umā=Pārvatī= Gaurī=Earth. On the other hand, it indicates the red 'dirt' from the body of Pārvatī. With the prominence of the Earth-cult, as noted above, the 'dirt' from the body of Umā can be nothing else than the red clay. This would also indicate that the earliest idols of Gaṇeśa must have been prepared from red clay or red rock, the practice getting perpetuated with the myth of the birth from the *rajas*, which indicated both the dirt on the body of the Earth-goddess and her fluid of menstruation. In that case, the mention of the 'fourth day', whether in *Bhādrapada* or *Māgha* gets a unique significance. The importance of the months of *Bhādrapada* and *Māgha* supports this angle. The worship of the mare-faced Earth-goddess called Subhadrā is enjoined on the third bright of *Māgha* at Hāṭakeśvara; and it is said that she would bring not only prosperity but also bestow male issues on issueless women[20]. Another mare-faced

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17. *Skanda Purāṇa* VII. 1. 61. 10; she is enjoined to be worshipped on the bright 3rd of *Māgha*. Another aspect of hers is Maṅgalā-Caṇḍī, *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, Prakṛti-Khaṇḍa*, 44. 3-17.

18. *Skanda Purāṇa* VII. 38. 54—

रक्ताम्बरधरो भूत्वा चतुर्थ्यामर्चयेत्तु यः ।
एककालं द्विकालं वा नियतो नियताशनः ॥

19. *Ibid* V 1. 28. 24—

रक्तचन्दनतोयेन····चन्दनेनापि रक्तेन तं विलेप्य··· ।

20. *Ibid*. 84. 4. 15 and 18—

एषा शुभानना नारी मत्प्रसादाद्भविष्यति ।
सुभद्रा नाम विख्याता वीरसूः पतिवल्लभा ॥ १५ ॥

and—

या नारी पतिना त्यक्ता वन्ध्या वा भक्तिसंयुता ।
तृतीयादिवसे चैतां पूजयिष्यति केशव ॥
भविष्यति सुपुत्राढ्या सुभगा वा सुखान्विता ॥ १८ ॥

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goddess is mentioned in the Prabhāsa-region. She is the mare-faced Sarasvatī, and is also to be worshipped on the third bright of *Māgha*[21]. *Māgha* has been, thus a month for fructification; and the tradition reaches the Vedic times, wherein the Horse-sacrifice was to be performed in the same month from the fifth onwards[22]. It appears that the months of *Bhādrapada* and *Māgha* were important as the half-year period when the earth was believed to be ready for conception or delivery. The period was adjustible, the months *Āśvina* and *Phālguna* being also believed to be so important. The period from the first bright of *Āśvina* to the tenth is important in the Hindu tradition as beginning with the placing of the jar (*ghaṭa-sthāpanā*) and keeping it for nine days; the tenth is the day of Daśerā (actually *daśa-ahar*, "ten days"), when the goddess is taken in procession to a place of water and immersed. The jar symbolizes the womb of the earth-goddess Durgā, and the period is marked by the festival of Durgā-pujā. For adding to the belief of fertility that marked this period, it was customary to dance and sing in groups uttering words and expressions indicative of sexual union.[23] We have already referred to the tradition of the worship of Gaṇeśa on the tenth of *Āśvina* at

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21. *Ibid.* VII. 185.2.
For information in notes 20 and 21, see my article "The Horse-faced Goddess", *P. V. Bapat Felicitation Volume.*

22. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIII 5. 2. 2 ff; *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā,* XIII. 18 etc.; for fuller study may be seen my book, *Vedic Concept of 'Field' and the Divine Fructification*, Bombay University, 1971, pp. 34-48.

23. See P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. V-i, Poona, 2nd ed. 1974, p. 177, n. 455 where he quotes from the *Kālikā Purāṇa*. This was termed the *Śabarotsava*; the relevant lines are as follows :

……शबरोत्सवैः ।
धूलिकर्दमविक्षेपैः क्रीडाकौतुकमङ्गलैः ॥
भगलिङ्गाभिधानैश्च भगलिङ्गप्रगीतकैः ।
भगलिङ्गक्रियाशब्दैः क्रीडयेयुरलं जनाः ॥

The modern Holi is marked by the same, coming in the month of *Phālguna*. The same is seen at the festival of the goddess Umā; see *Nīlamata Purāṇa* 497 for the festivities on the bright 15th of *Āśvina*—

कर्दमेनानुलिप्ताङ्गैः क्रीडितव्यं तथाऽऽदरात् ।
सुहृदः कर्दमेनापि लेपनीया इतस्ततः ॥

and 498— कामार्थवादनिरतैस्तल्लिंगार्थप्रबोधकैः ;

also 499— अश्लीलानि प्रवदद्भिः

dust and clay symbolize Earth.

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Avanti; and, as the fourth is also marked by the birth of Gaṇeśa from Umā in the accounts mentioned above, the tenth has to be taken as indicating the belief of the birth of Gaṇeśa on that date. And this birth is from Durgā, connecting the birth of Gaṇeśa with the '*Navarātra*' period in respect of the Earth-goddess. According to the *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, Kaśmīrā, the anthropomorphised earth (i.e., the province of Kāśmīra) is said to be in menstruation from the dark fifth to the eighth of *Phālguna*. So, for three days thence she is not to be worshipped, though her image in stone is already installed on the bright eighth itself. On the dark eighth (i.e., on the *fourth* day of her 'menstruation-period') she is to be bathed in milk and other substances, and offered *naivedya*. After this, the ritual-ploughing began with the sowing of the seeds.[24]

The myth of the birth of Gaṇeśa from the body-dirt of Pārvatī—and on the fourth day—has to be understood in the context of the concept of the Earth-goddess and the rituals of the Earth-mother. The red colour associated with Gaṇeśa (as is clear from the *sindūra*, the red garment or the red flowers) and the dirt of his mother from which he is said to be created are nothing but mythical superimpositions, or *arthavāda*, in the mythopoeic style, to indicate his birth from the mother Earth, in traditional 'period'.[25]

24. *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, v. 636 ff; the rite of the worship of Kaśmīrā is followed by the worship of the Earth-goddess, *cf.* V. 662.

पूजयेत्पृथिवीं देवीं गोयुतं सुरभि ह्यम् ।

25. In almost all cases, the goddess (Pārvatī, Umā or anyone indicating the earth) is worshipped on the 3rd bright while the 4th is generally (rather mainly) for her son, Gaṇeśa. In the current tradition Gaurī is installed on the 3rd bright of *Bhādrapada*, and Gaṇeśa is installed on the 4th. However, separately, the goddess also has the 8th or the 9th as her day.

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Arya Ramachandra G. TIWARI, Vallabhvidyanagar (Gujarat) :

# EVOLUTION OF THE BRAHMANICAL PANTHEON : A STUDY

On the basis of the testimony of the seals found in Harappa and Mohenjo-daro one can simply infer that, besides trees, snakes, bulls, etc., the people there worshipped the Paśupati aspect of the Yogī Śiva, the Mother Goddess, the Mother Earth[1] and perhaps, the Sapta Mātrikās.[2] The origin of Viṣṇu,[3] Mahālakṣmī,[4] Kṛṣṇa,[5] Skanda,[6] Śiva,[7] etc., is also traceable to the Dravidian sources. Gaṇapati is obviously a non-Āryan character.

The Vedic Aryans were worshippers of the natural forces in the beginning and those forces were grouped in equal numbers under three categories, each headed by a deity of special character and significance. These thirty-three divinities (eleven terrestrial, eleven atmospheric and eleven celestial) should be regarded as the nucleus of the later day Brahmanical pantheon although according to one tradition in the early Ṛgvedic period, only Indra assisted by the Maruts only, was chiefly adored. The Maruts, however, were then believed to be headed by Rudra, in many ways then a rival of Indra[8] and a later day progenitor of Śiva.

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1. STUART PIGGOT : *Prehistoric India* (Penguin : 1950), p. 201.
2. MAJUMDAR and PUSALKAR : *The Vedic Age* (Bhavan), Pl. VII, Fig. 8.
3. Tamil ·*Vin*'=sky. Prākṛta '*Venhu*'.
4. *Dravidic Studies* III.61-62.
5. *RV* VIII. 25 12-18. Srinivas AIYANGAR : *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras* (Madras : 1912), p. 126.
6. 'Muruga' of the South Indian tradition.
7. Śiva=Tamil ·Śivana' or ·Civana'.
8. STUART PIGGOT, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

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The names of the above-referred to thirty-three divinities are traceable in the *Bṛhaddevatā*[9] as under : –

| S. No. | Terrestrial Deities (Agni's Sphere) | Atmospheric Deities (Indra's Sphere) | Celestial Deities (Sūrya's Sphere) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Agni (Leader) | Indra (Leader) | Sūrya (Leader) |
| 2. | Draviṇoda | Parjanya | Aśvinīkumāras |
| 3. | Tanūnapāt | Rudra | Bhaga |
| 4. | Narāśaṁsa | Vāyu | Pūṣā |
| 5. | Iḷā | Mitra | Vṛṣākapi |
| 6. | Naktā | Varuṇa | Viṣṇu |
| 7. | Uṣā | Yama | Aja Ekapād |
| 8. | Tvaṣṭā (Divine Engineer) | Aditi | Samudra (Ocean) |
| 9. | Vanaspati (Vegetation) | Savitṛ | Keśin |
| 10. | Svāhākṛtī | Dhātṛ | Saṃvatsara (Year) |
| 11. | Pṛthivī | Indu | Vasu |

Later on, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, though retained the number thirty-three to denote the total number of divinities, changed the constituents of this number into eight Vasus, twelve Ādityas, eleven Rudras plus Indra and Prajāpati.[10] Sometimes even Indra was dropped and in his place Vaṣaṭkāra was substituted.[11]

In the early Epic period also the total number of these deities stood at thirty-three and, except Indra or Vaṣaṭkāra and Prajāpati, the entire list of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* was retained; in their place Aśvinīkumāras were substituted. Thus the eight Vasus, twelve Ādityas, eleven Rudras and the two Aśvinīkumāras constituted the list of the thirty-three divinities according to some earlier tradition preserved in the *Rāmāyaṇa* which further adds that they were the offsprings of Aditi.[12]

However, a major change was in offing. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* had mentioned the eight Vasus as (1) Agni, (2) Pṛthivī, (3) Vāyu, (4) Antarikṣa, (5) Āditya, (6) Dyuloka, (7) Candra and (8)

9. *Bṛhaddevatā* (Harvard University Oriental Series), I. 106-26, II. 1-16.
10. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (Gītā Press), III. 1-2.
11. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (Martin Haug Tr. : Second Ed.), p. 16.
12. *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* (Gītā Press), III. 14. 14-15.

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Nakṣatra;[13] while the *Mahābhārata* turned them into (1) Anala, (2) Dharā, (3) Anila, (4) Aha, (5) Pratyūṣa, (6) Prabhāsa, (7) Soma and (8) Dhruva.[14]

The eleven Rudras, according to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,* were the guardian-deities of the ten sense-organs plus the mind;[15] but later on each of them was given a distinct personality with a distinguishable form and a name and though the texts took sufficient precaution to assert that their number was eleven only, several of them changed the list by adding some new names and dropping an equal number of them from the old list to keep the total at eleven. Today, the number of Rudras, if compiled in a tabular form, stands at forty-nine, thus creating a reasonable ground for the identification of the Rudras with the Maruts[16], who are also believed to be forty-nine in number. Some iconographical texts have openly increased the number of the Rudras from eleven to twelve or even thirteen.[17]

Similarly, the twelve months of the year were believed to be symbolic of the twelve Ādityas[18] without any specific reference to the months special to each one of them. The *Bṛhaddevatā* which began with the assertion that they were seven only (viz., Dakṣa, Tuvijana, Bhaga, Aryamā, Aṁśu, Mitra and Varuṇa),[19] later on raised the number of the Ādityas to eight (*viz.*, Bhaga, Aryamā, Aṁśu, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛ, Indra and Sūrya)[20] and ultimately carried their number to twelve (*viz.*, Bhaga, Aryamā, Aṁśu, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛ, Vidhātṛ, Vivasvat, Tvaṣṭṛ, Pūṣā, Indra and Viṣṇu).[21] A final tally of these names carries

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13. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* III. 9.3.
14. *Mahābhārata* (Gītā Press) I. 66.18.
15. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* III. 9.4. They are called the 'Rudras' because they make the relative of the dying person cry *(ibid.)*.
16. *RV* X. 17.2. According to a tradition recorded in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (V. 47, 69), Rudra begot on Pṛṣṇi a number of male offsprings who came to be called as the 'Maruts'.
17. *Aparājitapṛcchā* 212. 1-2; *Rūpamaṇḍana* IV. 1-26. In one manuscript of the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, thirteen Rudras are described, though they are stated to be twelve only in number. See Balaram SHRIVASTAVA, *Rūpamaṇḍana* (Varanasi : 2021 V. S.), p. 159, n. 3.
18. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* III. 9.5.
19. *Bṛhaddevatā* IV. 81-82.
20. *Ibid*. VII. 114.
21. *Ibid*. V. 147-148.

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the number of these deities to fifteen, *viz.*, Dakṣa, Tuvijana, Bhaga, Aryamā, Aṁśu, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛ, Vidhātṛ, Vivasvat, Tvaṣṭṛ, Pūṣā, Sūrya, Indra and Viṣṇu. As the additions and substitutions of new names still continues their number today has reached the figure of twenty-eight.

In due course of time, the Āditya group, which included both Indra and Viṣṇu, gradually withered away as the latter, once a mere accomplice of Indra in the latter's exploits against the Asuras,[22] acquired prominence to such an extent as to be regarded as the Supreme Deity Itself. The Vasus were absorbed into Agni;[23] and the latter came to be transformed into Rudra.[24] The Rudras were in their turn compounded into Śiva. The Vedic Prajāpati was sucked into Brahmā by a mysterious process of mutual absorption and a new trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva came into being.[24a] In this process, the Vedic Āditya became astronomical Sūrya to lead a group of seven to nine planets.[24b]

Kṛṣṇa is referred to in the *Ṛgveda* as a leader of the Asuras.[25] However, some time between the 6th century B. C. and 4th century B. C,. or even earlier, he was absorbed in Brahmanical fold. By the beginning of the Christian era he was adored as the leader of a group of five deities popularly described as the Pañcavīras. This cult was in the beginning, perhaps, confined to the region extending from Mathurā to Vidiśā, where traces of columns dedicated to them are traceable.[26] Later on it extended upto Chittor in Rajasthan as evidenced by archaeological relics found at Ghoṣuṇḍī[27] and Nagarī,[28] or even beyond. The five heroes

22. e. g., *RV* I. 22. 19.
23. Apte, *'The Students' Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Varanasi : 1955), p. 497, col. 3.
24. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* VI. 1.3, 7-8. See also I. 7. 3. 8.
24a. This concept was the precursor of that of Dattātreya both as a set of these three free-standing deities lodged side b y side (See T. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part 1, pp. 252-55)and the Lankeśvara shrine in the Kailāsa, Ellorā or as a composite deity with three faces, six hands but on'y two feet as found in Maharashtra or other places nowadays.
24b. Rāhu and Ketu were added later on which made the present figure of nine planets.
25. *RV* VIII. 25. 12-18.
26. Banerajea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta : 1956) p. 104.
27. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XVI,. pp. 208 ff.
28. Ibid. XXII, pp. 198 ff.

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(Pañcavīras), in the beginning, were believed to be Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Sāmba, Pradyumna and Aniruddha.[29] Later on Sāmba was dropped and the remaining four Vīras came to be called the Caturmūrti deities. However, it should be noted that the authorities are not unanimous regarding the names of even these four deities because Varāhamihira names them as Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Sāmba and Pradyumna.[30]

In due course of time, Kṛṣṇa came to be identified with Viṣṇu and thus got himself elevated to the position of the Supreme Deity *(Pūrṇabrahma)* so much so that instead of being merely one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, all the incarnations of Viṣṇu came to be known to be the incarnations of Kṛṣṇa. Therefore, his name was dropped from the list of the popular list of the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu and Balarāma was substituted in his place because Kṛṣṇa could not be a part (i. e., an incarnation) and the whole (i. e., the Pūrṇabrahma) at one and the same time. This period also witnessed a prolonged rivalry (often violent between the followers of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu and Rudra-Śiva cults due to the emergence of sectarian loyalties. In this process Brahmā was for all practical purposes eliminated from the scene through coalescence into Agni,[31] leaving Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu and Rudra-Śiva in the field to fight for supremacy. The conflict is to this day waged under several interesting guises and was the most violent in the days of Rāmānujācārya, whose followers destroyed several Śaivaite temples[32] and who himself converted the present Tirupati Temple, once a Śaivaite shrine, into the present-day Vaiṣṇava centre,

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29. BANERAJEA, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
30. Varāhamihira, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (Varanasi : 1959), 58. 37-38.
31. See the image of Brahmā with the name 'Vidhātā' inscribed on it in the Rataneśvara Mahādeva Temple, Chittor, wherein he is depicted with four hands bearing the Varadā Mudrā, a ladle, a lotus, and a Kalaśa. In another piece of this type with a swan vehicle and four hands on the ceiling of the Naucaukī, Rājnagar (near Udaipur, Raj), the lower right hand of the lord has the Varadā Mudrā+an Akṣamālā. In the Vijayastambha, Chittor, an image with the name 'Agni' inscribed on it, has a ram vehicle and four hands carrying the Varadā Mudrā,+an Akṣamālā, a *ladle*, a lotus, and a Kalaśa. Thus, except the difference in their vehicle-attributes, there is nothing to distinguish the Vidhātā form of Brahmā from Agni. Brahmā and/or Agni are/is represented in this Vidhātā form in several temple, and temples e g., the templets opposite the Acaleśvara Temple, Achalgadh (Mt. Abu).
32. See the walls of the Rāmānuja Maṇḍapa near the Gaṇeśa-ratha in Mahābalipuram.

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allegedly through an underhand trick.[33] Today, Brahmā is occasionally remembered on ceremonial occasions only.

A close study of the Brahmanical images suggests that adoration of a group of deities with Śakti (Supreme Energy) conceived anthropomorphically as a female deity at its head was also uninterruptedly current in the country since the Indus Valley Civilization period. The impact of this cult on both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism was quite considerable. In fact, the efforts to appropriate the leadership of the Mātṛkās by both these cults[34] and the belief in the several forms of Pārvatī, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and a host of several other goddesses both in Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism is attributable only to the influence of this Śākta-cult where in a large number of divine, semi-divine and sub-divine goddesses including Yoginīs, Śaṅkhinīs, Dākinīs, etc.,besides several manifestations of the Śakti, are also found.

The process of this multiplication and proliferation of gods and goddesses is explained in a very interesting manner in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[35] When Brahman, being alone, found Itself incapable of any action, it, therefore, created a number of divinities of the Kṣatriya (warrior) category, *viz.*, Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Medhā, Mṛtyu, Īśāna, etc., Even then when it could not feel satisfied and work satisfactorily, it created another batch of deities of the Vaiśya category, viz., Rudras, Ādityas, Viśvedevās, Maruts, etc., who were called the *gaṇas*, i. e., gods who were members of one or another particular group (*gaṇa*). Lastly, even then its work did not proceed smoothly and it, therefore, created Pūṣan who belonged to the Śūdra category.

Another tradition which tried to explain the multiplication of gods and goddesses in the Brahmanical pantheon is found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,[36] which attributed their origin to the spilled out seed of Prajāpati during his attempt at incest with his daughter Uṣā. Otherwise, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[37] at one place mentions Prajāpati, Śrī, Agni, Soma,

33. N. Ramesan, *Temples and Legends of Andhra Pradesh* (Bhavan), pp. 60-61.
34. The Saptamātṛkās are usually headed bp Vīrabhadra, a form of Rudra-Śiva, but an effort was once made to place Viṣṇu at their head. See *Harivaṁśa* (Gītā Press), I. 4. 6-7.
35. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* I. 4. 10-13.
36. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (Martin Haug Tr. : Second Ed.) pp. 147-48.
37. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* II. 4. 3. 1-3.

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Mitra, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Sāvitrī, Sarasvatī and Tvaṣṭṛ only. Even in the later-day Smārta-cult Āditya, Gaṇapati, Devī (Ambikā), Rudra (Śiva) and Keśava (Viṣṇu), i. e., five, only are mentioned who constitute the present-day Pañcāyatana deities.[38]

The early Buddhist texts, according to R. G. BHANDARKAR, mention Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Punnabhadda, Manibhadda, Aggi, Nāgas, Supannas, Yakkas, Asuras, Ganabhaddas, Mahārajas, Caṇḍa, Suriya, Inda, Brahma, Deva, Disa[39] etc., only.

The *Arthaśāstra* has mentioned Kṛṣṇa,[40] Saṅkarṣaṇa,[41] Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Śiva, Kubera, Aśvinīkumāras, Śrī, Madirā (Vāruṇī), Brahmā, Indra, Yama, Skanda[42] and ten different directions along with Brahmāṇī Bali, Śambara, Bhaṇḍīrapāka, Naraka, Nikumbha and Kumbha who are mentioned in the context of black magic.[43] A very interesting clue regarding the number and names of the eminent deities adored in the pre-Kālidāsa period comes to us from Bhāsa, who has mentioned Brahmā, Maheśa (Śiva), Viṣṇu, Indra, Kārtikeya,[44] Kṛṣṇa and Rāma prominently in his works.[45]

Another cross-section in the chain of evolution of the Brahmanical pantheon is found in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, according to which the shrines of Viṣṇu, Indra, Vivasvat, Soma, Bhaga, Kubera, Dhātā, Vidhātā, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Gāyatrī, Vasu, Nāgarāja (Vāsuki or Śeṣa), Garuḍa, Kārtikeya and Dharma were found in the hermitage of Agastya.[46]

Kālidāsa has mentioned Kāmadeva, Indra, Jayanta, Rāhu, Śukra, Candra and his consort (Rohiṇī), Bṛhaspati, Brahmā, Śiva, Kārtikeya, Pārvatī, Rudra, Bhṛṅgī, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana-Trivikrama, Nārada, Kṛṣṇa,

38. See the Pañcāyatana Temples in Isaval and Nagada (near Udaipur), Khajurāho, Bilpāṅga (near Ratlam), etc., and the figures on the pillars each with four faces and a circular tap in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
39. BHANDARKAR, R G, '*Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Cults*', p. 3.
40. *Arthaśāstra* (Pande Ramtej ŚASTRI Ed. : Varanasi), 14. 3 (p. 700).
41. *Ibid.* 13. 3 (p. 670).
42. *Ibid.* 2. 4 (p. 84).
43. Ibid. 14-3 (pp 698-700).
44. Bhāsa, *Madhyamavyāyoga* I. 43.
45. The *Dūtavākyam* deifies Kṛṣṇa while the '*Pratimā Nāṭakam*' eulogises Rāma.
46. *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* III. 12. 18-20.

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Balarāma and his consort (Revatī), Kaccha, Varāha, Rāma, Sītā, Hanumān, Paraśurāma, Pṛthu, Lakṣmī, Śri, Śeṣanārāyaṇa (with Brahmā perched on the lotus springing from his navel), Garuḍa, Sarasvatī, Gaṇgā, Lokapālas (four in number only), Kubera, Varuṇa, Vāruṇī. Yama, Saptamātṛikās and Kālī.[47] The currency of these divinities can be safely accepted during the Gupta period on the strength of the iconographical evidence also.

Varāhamihira, a near contemporary of Kālidāsa in the Gupta period, has mentioned Viṣṇu (with his twelve forms of images), Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Ekānanśā, Sāmba, Pradyumna, Brahmā, Kārtikeya, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa. Kubera, Buddha, Sūrya, Śiva, Gaṇeśa and the Saptamātṛkās in his *Bṛhatsaṁhītā*.[48]

One more link in the chain is discernible in the *Brahma Purāṇa*. It speaks of the Maruts, Rudras, Ādityas, Aśvinīkumāras, Indra, Viṣṇu, Yama and Agni repairing to the residence of Dadhīci to persuade him to hand them over his bones for fashioning a thunderbolt to be used by Indra against Vṛtra.[49]

The *Śiva Purāṇa*[50] has also given four different lists of thirty-two, sixteen, eight and five gods and goddesses on different occasions. The group constituting the thirty-two deities included Agni, Varuṇa, Pṛthvī, Vāyu, the ten-directions and their overlords plus the eight Vasus. The sixteen deities mentioned in the second group were the two Aśvinīkumāras, Śiva, Śakti (Ambā or Pārvatī), Rudra, Iśāna, Nārada and nine Śaktis (the navadurgās). The eight deities in the third group were Brahmā and the Saptarṣis, while the five divinities in the fourth group the Pañca Brahmās (*viz.*, Iśāna, Aghora, Vāmadeva (with Pārvatī), Tatpuruṣa and Sadyojāta. All these divinities added up to (32+16+8+5=61) sixty-one in number which is fairly impressive and comprehensive when we take into consideration the fact that they were the prominent deities only and this list does not in any way claim to be the whole list of the deities adored at that time. In other words, this list cannot and should not be

47. Tiwari, Ārya Rāmchandra G. : "The Time of Kālidāsa as Inferred from Mythological References in His Works" (*Poona Orientalist*, XXVII. 1-2, pp. 1-28).
48. Varāhamihira, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 58 31-56.
49. *Brahma Purāṇa* (Śrirām Āchārya Ed.), I. 46. 9-11.
50. *Śiva Purāṇa* (Gītā Press), pp. 68-69.

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taken to be exhaustive. In this list the deities comprising the Śākta group are not given much prominece though they also had a good following since the Ṛgvedic period and archaeological and iconographical finds support the existence of the worship of a large number and veriety of Śākta deities. But the absence of reference to these goddesses can be explained in the light of the extreme secrecy and secretiveness among the followers of the Śākta -cult, who very zealously guarded their religious mysteries from outsiders. This even to-day also holds true about them.

In many instances, several subsidiary deities of the Śākta-cult managed to cut out a prominent, and even at times, a central place in the popular beliefs and thereby also gathered a team of semi-divine attendants around them to impress the populace in paying reverence to them on certain occasions. In this respect these deities have at times thrown even prominent deities of principal cults into subsidiary positions. The emergence of Bhairava and Śītalā into high and popular esteem can be explained in this light only.

Most of these deities have now lost their importance and pre-eminence and only some of them have managed to secure a significant miserable existence in the shelves on the walls of the prominent temples; otherwise in the present day only Viṣṇu, Śiva and Devī in their various forms and aspects are principally worshipped though Bhairava, Śītalā, Cāmuṇḍā, etc., have also an impressive following among the villagers and the tribal people, especially in the days of epidemics.

An analysis of the afore-given data and a slight elaboration thereof reveals :

(1) That the early Ṛgvedic gods, who held supreme positions, were in due course of time relegated into back seats and only some of them like Indra, Agni, Yama, Varuṇa and Vāyu could subsist as minor functionaries as the present-day digpālas.

(2) That Rudra, the early Vedic fierce deity, sometimes an accomplice and often a rival of Indra, on the one hand, got completely transformed into a meditative, calm and benevolent deity under the name Śiva and also, on the other hand, proliferated sufficiently enough to succeed in getting identified (though only temporarily) with the Maruts,

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believed to be forty-nine in number according to the Purānic mythology.[51] However, Rudra of the old was not completely forgotten and his forms believed to be eight or eleven or twelve in number came to be employed as adornmets on the walls of the Śaivaite shrines. At the same time the Bhairavas, Bhūtas, Piśācas, etc., the popular folk-deities of the aborigines, succeeded in finding a honourable asylum in this Śaivaite company at the popular level in the Purāṇic lore.

(3) That Viṣṇu, once a mere accomplice and associate of Indra in the latter's heroic exploits, shot himself into such an astounding prominence that all other deities except Rudra-Śiva, were thrown into secondary or second-rate or even third-rate, positions. Though he subsequently proliferated into several incarnations, some of them, at the best and that too in a limited way, can be explained only in the non-Āryan cultural context.

(4) That the Pañcavīra-cult is an amalgam of some foreign and some native elements. The archaeological evidence suggests that the Muralīdhara Kṛṣṇa has, perhaps, some Greek content in its origin.[52] The association of Sāmba with the Śakas is hinted in the Purāṇic story of his journey to the Śākadvīpa to get cured of leprosy.[53] Balarāma has, of course, his origin in some Nāga-cult which also had some impact on the evolution of the later day concepts of the Yakṣa and Kubera while Pradyumna *alias* Kāmadeva is, perhaps, borrowed from the folk-cult of the Kinnaras, located in the later days in the Himalayan region by Kālidāsa[54] and Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa.[55]

(5) That the convention of portraying Sūrya in the Audīcya-veśa in one iconographical tradition, was, perhaps, wholly or largely, borrowed

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51. See *Bhāgavta Purāṇa* (Gītā Press) VI. 18-62; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Gītā Press) I. 21-40; *Nṛsiṁha Purāṇa* (Gita Prees) XX. 6-7.

52. See the statue of the Muralīmanohara from Corinth (60 kms. from Athens, Greece) wherein the Lord is depicted in Tribhaṅga with two cows on his right hand side.

53. The recommendation to have the image of Sūrya installed at the hands of a Maga (the Magi of ancient Persia and Media) by Varāhamihira (*Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 60-19) further corroborates this fact. The Magis were, perhaps, Median in origin and formed a priestly class in ancient Iran (Ghirshman, *Iran* (Penguin : 1954), p. 156).

54. See Kālidāsa, *Kumārasaṁbhava* I. 8

55. See Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, '*Kādambarī*' (tr., Jaico Ed.), p. 160.

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from the tradtion of some foregin tribe/s once inhabiting in the north-western regions of the country. The other school, which represents him as a bare-bodied person has, probably, some early Vedic elements in it.

(6) That Gaṇapati has no perceptible Vedic roots, and Skanda is the northern Brahmanized version of the Dravidian deity Muruga.

(7) That the large number of goddesses which loom large on the later Vedic, epic and Purāṇic horizons both in the Vaiṣṇavaite and Śaivaite traditions are the progeney of the non-Āryan female deites first witnessed in the pre-Vedic Indus Valley seals.

However, these diverse elements though drawn from different cultural and racial sources were churned into organic limbs of a living cultural entity through a process partly deliberate and partly spontaneous. As for the codifiers and authors of popular myths the *Purāṇas* simply put them down into black and white in their popular anthologies under commonly accepted name of Vedavyāsa. At the same time in their effort to channelize the energies of these diverse peoples into one national cultural stream, the ancient Indian saint-authors were developing a religious system in which these different cultural trends represented by these divinities were fitting or were being fitted as its natural parts. This accounts for the arrangement of several homogenous or collateral deities into family units (i.e., Śiva, Pārvatī, Gaṇapati, Skanda and Nandī; or Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Śeṣanāga and Garuḍa; or Brahmā, Gāyatrī, Sārasvatī, Sāvitrī and Haṁsa etc.). These combinations, in fact, point to the socio-cultural (or say, racio-religious) conciliations between the followers of these individual deities but not without initial clashes.[56]

Even though the sectarian followers of some of these deities (i.e., the Śaivaites, Vaiṣṇavaites, Śāktas, etc.,) or a group of these deities (i.e., the Śaivaites and the Śāktas on the one hand and the Vaiṣṇavaites on the other) might have continued to clash with one another or each other at some local levels as the Purāṇic stories avow, and, in a limited way, at times they might have even gone to the extent of desecreting their rival's shrines. However, those aberrations, begotten by impatience or intolerance

56. *e.g.*, the clashes between the hordes of Śiva on the one hand and those of Pārvatī headed by Gaṇapati, on the other; the clashes between Viṣṇu and Rudra-Śiva on several occasions; the slicing off of the fifth head of Brahmā by Rudra as a punishment for insolent behaviour of Brahmā towards Rudra-Śiva; the destruction of the Vaiṣṇava sacrifice by the Śaivaites under the leadership of Vīrabhadra, etc. are such examples that amply illustrate the point.

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were just a form of prolonged inter-cultural dialogue while on the broad national level there was (religious and) cultural harmony and social amity which was a product of centuries of silent efforts at integration of ideals and ideas, or say, a fruit of emotional co-existence between different participants in this exercise.

One has only to visit the temple-complexes in Chittor, Ekaliṅgji, Nagada (near Ekalingji), Puri, etc., in the northern India or Ellora, Badami, Belur, Halebid, Hampi, Śrīrangam (near Tiruchirapallī), Jambukeśvara (near Śrīrangam), Rameśvaram, etc., on the southern side of the Vindhyas to obtain a visual testimony of the actual cultural-cum-emotional unity of the Brahmanical religion. In several of these shrines, the main deity may be Śaivaite or Vaiṣṇavaite but the gods and goddesses of their rival cults are also given such an honourable place in niches that, but for the deity in the main cell, it would be difficult to make out as to which particular deity these structures belonged. At many places where the original deity to whom the shrine was dedicated was later on substituted by some other one, it is next to impossible to surmise the nature of the earlier deity. This happens to be a conclusion acceptable to all the scholars and the same is proved by the Banḍābanḍeśvara shrine near Udipi which was originally dedicated to Skanda and now devoted to Balarāma. There are also several temples, where the image in the main cell is absent (e.g., the caves or temples in Badami, Ellora, Aihole, Chittor (Raj.), Lakkundī, Paṭṭāḍakal, etc.). In such places it is not so easy to determine with certainty or even reasonable assurance the deity to whom those shrines were originally dedicated especially where the practice of carving the figure of principal deity on the lintel is not in evidence, (e.g., the temples and templets in Badāmī and Aihole).

In some limited sense, the Brāhmanical pantheon is a product of a national dialogue which aimed at the national and emotional integration of several diverse social, religious, cultural and racial units in our country. Viewed in this light, the surviving great temples both in the northern and the southern India are the eloquent testimony to the ultimate success achieved by our ancestors in this respect. The images found in these shrines are, as if, the cultural emissaries of the remote racio-cultural units signing on behalf of their respective followers a social compact guaranting eternal co-existence with one another for the peace and prosperity of the people of our beloved land.

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To a historian, the story of the evolution of the Brāhmanical pantheon is a history of the growth of the instrument of mutual merger and mutual absorption between several racio-cultural units, written on the parchment of the walls of the Hindu temples wherein the images stand for words and the iconometry, iconology, iconography and iconosophy are respectively the alphabets, grammar, dictionary and lexicon to decipher this text which can be studied only in the context of the then contemporary racio-cultural *cum* socio-religious circumstances bothat the national as well as at the local levels.

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S. R. Bhatt, New Delhi :

# THE *NAVYA-NYĀYA* THEORY OF *JĀTI* AND *SĀMĀNYA*

The concept of *jāti* or its cognate concept *sāmānya* plays a very significant role in the metaphysics and epistemology of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* tradition. The terms *jāti* and *sāmānya* can roughly be translated in English as '*class*' and '*class-character*' respectively. Though the terms *jāti* and *sāmānya* are not synonymous[1], they have been and can be used interchangeably in as much as every case oi the presence of one is the case of the presence of the other. In other words, wherever there is a class, there is a class-character and vice-versa. Thus every description of the one is also a description of other. Following the *Nyāva-Vaiśeṣika* usage we shall use them interchangeably.

As regards the ontological status of *jāti/sāmānya*, the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* thinkers maintain a realistic position. Since they start with the presupposition that all that is real is knowable and all that is knowable is expressible, they also advocate, as a corollary, that corresponding to every word there is a concept and corresponding to every concept there is a thing. *Jāti/Sāmānya*, accordingly, not only exists in language or in thought but also in reality. Every *jati/sāmānya* is an objective entity distinct from those individuals with which it is inseparably associated. Not only is it distinct from its respective individuals, it may also be present independent of and inspite of the individuals. This is a position of extreme realism which the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* thinkers advocate.

The idea of *jāti/Sāmānya* in the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* tradition can be traced back to the earliest works like the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra* of Kaṇāda[2] and

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1. *Sāmānya* stands for the differential property commonly shared by some individuals and *jāti* stands for the collection of the individuals sharing that property. The word *jāti* has also been used in an altogether different sense of a speficic type of fallacious reasoning.
2. *sāmānya viśeṣo iti buddhyapekṣam, VS* 1. 2. 3.

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the *Nyāya-Sūtra* of Gautama.[3] We experience similarity and dissimilarity among objects. Without postulating *sāmānya*, says Kaṇāda[4], the conception of similarity is not possible. Praśastapāda a commentator on the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra* gives a more comprehensive account of the concept of *sāmānya*. According to him *sāmānya* is the cause of the conception of similarity among individual things in which it is present wholly and inseparably.[5] In this definition, he points out two important features of *sāmānya* : (i) *Sāmānya* inheres in many individuals and inspite of this it preserves its unitary character and that is why though the individuals are multiple, the *sāmanya* inhering in them is one. (ii) It is never the case that the sāmānya inheres partially in its multiple individuals. However, he does not make it clear as to how inspite of being unitary it can inhere in multiple individuals without at the same time its unitary character being unaffected. This has been a major point of criticism against the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* position by its adversaries.

Udyotakara commenting on the *Nyāyasūtras* in his *Nyāyavārttika* makes a specification with regard to the *sāmānya* being the cause of the notion of similarity. He points out that all notions of similarity are not based on *sāmānya*, but also on other considerations like *upādhi* etc.[6] All thinkers before Udyotakara seem to be vague in this respect and it is only he who points out clearly that *sāmānya* is the basis of only those notions of similarity where certain constitutive and regulative conditions are fulfilled. Exemplifying his point he writes that we do have the notion of similarity expressed as 'cooks', 'teachers', 'blind' etc. but at the basis of these notions there are no universals. On the other hand, in cases like notion of 'man', 'cow', 'pot' etc., we have corresponding universals like 'man-ness', 'cow-ness', 'pot-ness' etc. Another significant point to be noted here is that perhaps for the first time he uses the terms *jāti* and *sāmānya* interchangeably.

Following Udyotakara Udayana in his *Kiraṇāvalī*, systematises the regulative conditions under six heads known as *jātibādhakas* which debar

3. RANDLE in *Indian Logic in Early School* (p. 7) maintains that the idea of *sāmānya* is found in the *Nyāya-sūtra*, V. 1. 15.
4. *bhāvo' nuvṛttereva hetutvāt sāmānyameva*, I. 2. 4.
5 *svaviṣaye sarvagatam-abhinnātmakam-anekavṛttyeka-dvi-bahuṣvātmavartamānam-anuvṛtti-pratyaya-kāraṇam*
6. *tat-samāna-pratyayotpatti-kāraṇam jātir-iti nāto niyamena samāna-pratyayotpattiḥ jātim-antareṇāpi dṛṣṭavat.*

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any property from being treated as a class character.[7] The most systematic analysis of *jāti* and *sāmānya* is available in the *Navya-Nyāya.* Viśvanātha in the *Nyāyasiddhāntamuktāvalī*[8] points out three necessary conditions of *sāmānya*, viz., *nityatva* (eternality), *anekavṛttitva* (commonness) and *samavetatva* (inseparability). These three can be said to be the constitutive conditions of *sāmānya* in as much as all the three are equally essential and inevitable for any entity to be so, and in the absence of any one of these, nothing can be entitled as *sāmānya.* As Viśvanātha explains, the characteristic of *nityatva* is essential in order to prevent *saṁyoga* (conjunction) from being included in the definition of *sāmānya. Samyoga* has the other two characteristics but not the first one. The second characteristic, viz., *anekatva* is necessary for excluding *ākāśa* as it has *nityatva* and *samavetatva* but not *anekavṛttitva.* The third characteristic of *samavetatva* is meant for excluding *atyantābhāva* (absolute non-existence). The *atyantābhāva* has both *nityatva* and *anekavṛttitva* but has no *samavetatva.*

There is a significant point to be noted here. In the early phase of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* tradition, there seems to be some ambiguity with regard to the ontological status of *sāmānya* and also with regard to its precise difference from the category of *viśeṣa.* Kaṇāda regards *sāmānya* and *viśeṣa* as *buddhyapekṣa* (i. e., mind-dependent).

This gives the impression that a property is to be regarded as *sāmānya* only if we conceive it as a class-character inhering in many individuals and the same is to be regarded as *viśeṣa* when we conceive it as a differential character. For example, *ghaṭatva* (potness) is a *sāmānya* when we regard it as residing in all pots and when we regard it as distinguishing pots from other things, it is to be taken as *viśeṣa.* In the Navya-Nyāya, this ambiguity has been completely removed by regarding *sāmānya* as independent, objective and external entity which is a class-character and by regarding *viśeṣa* as the differential character of the ultimate entities.

(a) Since *sāmānya* stands for that entity which is the basis for our notion of similarity among things, the basic condition for any property to qualify for being *sāmānya* is commonness which can be described variously as occurrence in multiple loci or as having multiple member-

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7. *vyakter-abheda-stulyatvaṁ saṁkaro'thānavasthiti* |
*rūpahānir-asambandho jātibādhaka-saṁgrahaḥ* ||

8. *nityatve sati aneka-samavetatvam.*

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ship if we keep the concept of class (jāti) in view. The central idea underlying this condition is that nothing can be a *sāmānya* unless and until it is present in more than one individuals. Likewise, nothing can be a *jāti* which does not have multiple individuals as its members.

From the condition of *anekavṛttitva* (common-ness) two important implications follow which should be brought out to give further extension to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theory :

(i) There can be no class (jāti) without there being some individuals—potential or actual—belonging to it.

(ii) Secondly, there can be no class (*jāti*) if there are not more than one individual belonging to it as its members.

The first implication makes it quite evident that the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinkers do not accept the idea of a null-class. A class without members can never be possible. It is a different thing that at a given point of time the members of a class may not be actually existent. In other words, there can be *sāmayikābhāva* (temporal non-existence) of membership but no *atyantābhāva* (absolute non-existence) of it is possible. Such a class whose members are not presently existent but were existent in the past or would come to exist in future can be termed an empty-class. It is to be regarded as an empty-class not because it has no members but because presently it is empty of members. An empty-class can be distinguished from a null-class in this sense that the latter is having an *atyantābhāva* (absolute non-existence) of *vṛttitva* (membership). The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinkers will accept the idea of an empty-class but will never accept the idea of a null-class as presence of membership is the very essence of *jāti*.

The second implication makes it clear that like the idea of a null-class the idea of a unit-class too is not acceptable to them since one single individual cannot constitute a class. Likewise, a property which has locus exclusively and solely in one single individual cannot be regarded as *sāmānya*. This follows from the fact that *sāmānya* is characterised by common-ness and there cannot be common-ness unless a common property is present in two or more individuals.

Though these implications have not been brought out explicitly by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinkers, they inevitably follow from their analyses. The ideas of null-class and unit-class are acceptable within the frame-

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work of formal logic. But the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika tradition is not so and it insists on the *sāmānya* being present in individuals which are said to be included in its extension. *Sāmānya* has also been referred to as *vyāpaka* (pervader) and it can not be so unless and until it has a corresponding *vyāpya* (pervaded) which is an individual object.

(b) The second constitutive condition of *sāmānya* is *nityatva* (eternality). *Sāmānya* is not a mental construct or a subjective characterisation imposed upon by the knowing-mind. It is an objective entity present in the outer world independent of the knowing mind. It is an objective entity which can be only cognised by the knowing mind and not created. Not only is it independent of the knowing mind it is also independent of individuals in which it inheres. Instead of *sāmānya* depending upon the individuals, it is rather the latter which depend upon the former. To take a concrete example, no object can be called a 'pen' unless 'pen-ness' inheres in it. Now, the individual pens are non-eternal but the 'pen-ness' is not so. Individuals are subjects to origin and annihilation and hence temporal but the *sāmānya* and *jāti* are eternal. The latter remain present eternally. The individual members come and go but this does not affect their being. The only difference in their membership is that sometimes it is actual and sometimes it is potential. When at a particular point of time members of a particular *sāmānya* and *jāti* cease to be present, it does not mean cessation of that *samanya* and *jāti*. It only means that at that point of time they are emptied of their membership. It will be a case of *rikta-sāmānya* (empty-class character) and *rikta-jāti* (empty-class).

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinkers insist on the independent and objective character of *sāmānya* and *jati* but this can be guaranteed only by regarding it as eternal.

(c) The third constitutive condition of *sāmanya* and *jati* is *samavetatvam* (inseparability). If a *sāmānya* is to occur in its members which are its loci, then the question arises as to what is the relation between the *samanya* and its individual members. As distinct from the accidental properties which have the relation of *saṁyoga* (separability) with their loci, *samanya*, being an essential property, stands in the relation of *samavaya* which is an inseparable one. To be a member of a *samanya* (or *jati*) is to be inseparable from it. This means it is not that any entity can be and can cease to be a member of any *samanya*. The *samanya* constitutes, to borrow a Buddhist terminology, the *svabhava*

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(essential character) of its individual members and, therefore, though it may be present without its individual members, the latter can not exist without the former. There is an essential dependence of the individual members upon *sāmānya.*

In the preceding section we have analysed the constitutive conditions of *sāmānya.* The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinkers put forth some regulative conditions also, the presence of which impede or preclude a property from being *sāmānya* (or *jāti*). The enumeration of these conditions is necessary because we can not only draw a distinction between separable property and inseparable one, but within the inseparable properties again a distinction can be drawn between that which is inseparable and essential (*jāti*) and that which is inseparable but not essential (*upādhi*). The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinkers insist that *jāti* should not be confused with *upādhi.* To safeguard this they put forth the theory of '*jātibādhakas*' whose classical formulation in the *Kiraṇāvalī* of Udayana has been referred to earlier. Udayana states six *jātibādhakas* which are as under :

The first *jātibādhaka* is unitariness of membership. If there is a property which exclusively belongs to one single individual it disqualifies itself from being *sāmānya.* In other words, unitariness is a hindrance to class formation.

The second *jātibādhaka* is technically known as *tulyatva.* Members of a class have not only to be more than one but they should really be more than one. Two synonyms do not refer to two different individuals. So in the requirement of multiple membership the multiplicity should not be linguistic but factual. Similarly, if two properties completely coincide such that the membership of the one is the same and neither more nor less than that of the other, then the two properties cannot be said to constitute two different class-characters. They stand for one and the same class which can be referred to by any of the two properties. The main point of emphasis is that *sāmānya* stands not for words or concepts but for things and therefore if there are two synonyms they do not constitute two separate classes.

The third *jātibādhaka* is known as *saṁkara* (cross division). According to some Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinkers the relation between *jāti* and its individual members should be such that if any individual is a member of one *jāti*, it can not be a member of another *jāti*. There should be

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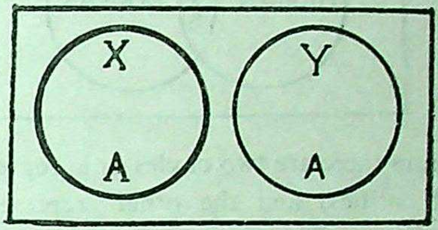
complete exclusiveness with regard to the membership of a *jāti*. To be a member of one class is to be completely included in it which means that it should be completely excluded from all other *jātis*. So to be a member of one *jāti*, should amount to not being a member of any other *jāti*. If we have two *jātis* say, X and Y then the member of the class X say A, can not be a member of the class Y. Such a situation can be represented in a diagram as :




This exclusiveness of membership of different *jātis* also implies that no two or more *jātis* can intersect or coincide.

On the basis of extension different *jātis* may have four possible relationships which may be represented here in the form of diagrams as under :

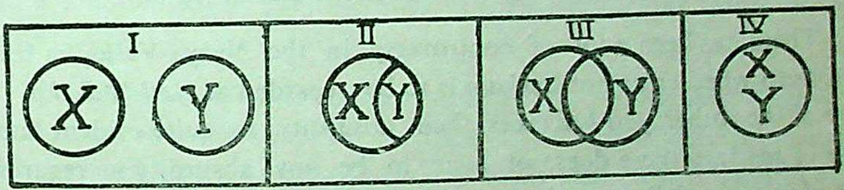



Diagram I is a case of complete exclusion in which no member of one class is a member of another class. Diagram II is a case of complete inclusion in which all the members of one class are also members of another class. Diagram III is a case of partia linclusion and partial exclusion. Here some members belong to either one or the other class exclusively but some members belong to both the classes. Diagram IV is a case of complete coincidence in which all the members of one are the members of the other and vice-versa. Out of these four cases the illegitimacy of Figure IV to be regarded as *jāti* has been pointed out under the second *jātibādhaka*. Figure III is a case of *saṁkara* regarded as illegitimate by some and needs detailed analysis. Figure II is not a case of class-membership but that of class-inclusion. It shall be analysed under the fourth *jātibādhaka*. Figure I alone is a true case of class membership. Figure III is a case where two classes intersect in

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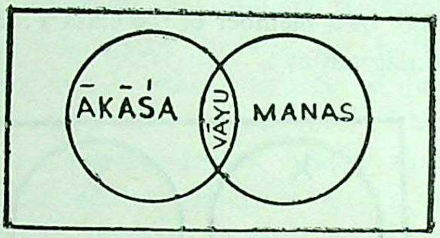
such a way that there are some individuals which are present only in one or the other but not in both and there are some such individuals which are present in both. This can be represented by the following diagram :




In the above diagram there are two circles one representing the class of '*bhūtas*' (material entities) and the other representing the class of *mūrtas* (atomic entities). The two circles intersect each other. The part where they coincide includes *pṛthivī*, *apa*, *teja* and *vāyu* which are common to both in so far as they possess both *bhūtatva* and *mūrtatva*. Each possesses a part which does not coincide with the other. One circle has *ākāśa* and the other *manas* (mind) in the respective parts outside the sphere of intersection. In *ākāśa* there is only *bhūtatva* but not *mūrtatva* and in *manas* there is only *mūrtatva* but not *bhūtatva*.

There has been a lot of controversy in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika tradition as to whether or not *saṁkara* is to be regarded as *jāti-bādhaka*. In case of the other *jāti-bādhakas* their absurdity is quite evident but in case of *saṁkara* there does not seem to be any absurdity in regarding two classes partially over-lapping as in the situation described above. In fact because of this consideration some of the Navya Naiyāyikas do not regard *saṁkara* as a *jāti-bādhaka*. Those who regard *saṁkara* as a fallacy argue that two classes should be either exclusive or if they coincide then they must be related as higher and lower, that is to say, the extension of one must be included in the other. Those who do not regard *saṁkara* as a fallacy argue that when partial exclusion (i. e. that of the higher class by the lower class) is regarded as no bar in one case then there seems to be no reason why there should be opposition on that ground in the case of the other. The basic contention underlying these positions is whether or not independent incidence is a necessary condition of class membership. If it is then *saṁkara* would be a fallacy. However, this much should be said in favour of the proponents of *saṁkara* as a fallacy that if one cares for a neat classification, it has to be diachotomous and in that case *saṁkara* should be regarded a fallacy.

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The fourth *jāti-bādhaka* is named as *anavasthiti*. It regulates that the membership of a class is open only to individual entities. Class membership is open only to an individual and never to a class. However, one class can be said to be included in another class. A lower class is included in a higher class. Thus a distinction can be drawn between class-membership and class-inclusion. Class-inclusion is a relation between a lower class and a higher class whereas class-membership is a relation between a class and its individual members. The basis of class-inclusion is extension and not similarity which is the basis in class-membership. The reason why one class can not be a member of another class, is that this will lead to an infinite regress.

The basic idea in denying class-membership to class seems to be that the necessary condition of class-membership is common-ness of property which cannot be present between any two classes which have to be mutually exclusive. If two or more classes have common-ness of property, this would amount to their *tulyatva* which would again be fallacious. In other words, if commonness of properties is the basis of class membership how can two or more than two classes be said to be a member of another class without the commonness of property and if there is commonness of property they will not be different classes but one and the same.

The fifth *jāti-bādhaka* is named as *rūpa-hāni*. It regulates that class membership cannot be possible in those cases when such membership results in annihilation of the nature of the entities which are to be the members. Such a regulation is needed to exclude *viśeṣas*, the ultimate principles of differentiation accepted in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika metaphysics. According to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika metaphysics the ultimate entities like atoms, soul etc. are differentiated from one another on the basis of *viśeṣa*, a differential property which is unique to them. Every *viśeṣa* is solely and exclusively present in one and altogether absent in the rest of the ultimate entities.

Since every *viśeṣa* is unique unto itself and absolutely dissimilar from the rest, whereas it is the similarity of nature which is the basis of class membership, to regard *viśeṣas* as constituting a class would amount to say that the absolutely dissimilars are similar, which is self-contradictory.

The sixth and the last *jāti-bādhaka* discussed by Udayana is named as *asambandha*. One of the basic conditions for class membership is the

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relation of *samavāya* obtaining between the class and its members. In the absence of such a relationship class membership is not possible. So wherever such a relation is impossible the class membership is also impossible. Relation itself is not relation and therefore it does not admit of class membership. Moreover, if we regard *samavāyatva* as a *jāti* inhering in a *samavāya*, the *samavāyatva* would have to inhere in both, its substrate and its relation. This position can not be possible as *samavāya* itself is a relation and to regard it as a relata would lead to infinite regress. The basic objection in regarding *samavāyatva* as a *jāti* is that it is a relation and has to be different from its relata, and therefore, it can not take the place of its relata. To regard the relation as relata would compel postulation of another relation, still another relation and so on.

Just as *samavāya* can not be a member of a class, *abhāva* also cannot be a member of any class. There can be multiple *abhāvas*, i. e., non-existence of many things at a particular locus, but these multiple *abhāvas* do not constitute a *jāti*. Thus *abhāvas* may be regarded as a characteristic common to all the instances of *abhāvas*, yet *abhāvatva* cannot be regarded as a *jāti*, because the relation of *samavāya* is not possible between *abhāvatva* and a particular *abhāva*. This is so because *samavāya* is a positive relation which obtains between two existent entities, but *abhāva* by its definition is negative and precludes its being related to anything through the relation of *samavāya*.

According to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika thinkers, all the six are the necessary impediments of class membership. The presence of all or even any one of them is sufficient to impede class membership. Thus any characteristic even though common to many entities, if suffers from any of the six limitations, it is disqualified from being regarded as a class-character.

As regards the mode of knowing a class or a class-character, the early Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika thinkers have a difference of opinion. The Nyāya thinkers maintain that the *sāmānya* or *jāti* is to be perceived in the same way as we perceive the *vyakti* in which the *sāmānya* or the *jāti* inheres. But the Vaiśeṣika thinkers contend that the apprehension of *sāmānya* and *jāti* is inferential, in so far as it is based on the awareness of the common characters. However, the syncretic Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system maintained that *sāmānya* or *jāti* can be perceived or inferred depending upon their nature. Some *sāmānyas* or *jātis* are apprehended

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on the basis of form *(ākṛti)* and some are apprehended on the basis of property *(guṇa)*. For example, all the pots have a common form, a generic form, on the basis of which their *sāmānya* or *jāti* is apprehended. But there can be a *sāmānya* or a *jāti* inhering in such substrata which are of different form. For example, the *sāmānya* or *jāti* of *bhūtatva* is inherent in a table, chair, drop of water, flower etc. All of them have different forms. Here the commonness is not in terms of generic form but in terms of generic character. Where the *sāmānya* or *jāti* is determined on the basis of generic form, the mode of apprehending them is perception. But in those cases where the *jāti* is based on general character, the mode of its apprehension is inference. There is another ground on the basis of which there can be a difference in the mode of apprehension. If the substrata of a *sāmāyna* and a *jāti* are present and perceivable, the *jāti* is apprehended through *perception.* For example, *the potness* of *pots.* In those cases where the substrata are either not present or not perceivable, they are apprehended through *inference*; for example, the property of *gandhatva* in the atoms of *pṛthivī*.

While concluding, we may refer to a very interesting controversy in the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* system with regard to the difference between *jāti* and *upādhi*. Both are common characteristics present in multiple entities and both serve as the principle of determination. But there is a difference between the two. An *upādhi* has got all the features of a *jāti* in so far as it functions as a synthesising principle. But it lacks some such characteristics which are essential to a *jāti* and because of this *upādhi* has to be differentiated from *jāti*. So to be a mere synthesising principle is not enough for being a *jāti*. An *upādhi* is just a common property which is accidental and not essential and is not related to its relata with the relation of *samavāya*. That is why, it is regarded as an imposed property. It is a real property of a thing but not the essential or the natural property and it is on this ground that it is distinguished from a *jāti*.

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A. Wezler, Hamburg :

# A NOTE ON CONCEPT *ADṚṢṬA* AS USED IN THE *VAIŚEṢIKASŪTRA*

1. The meaning of the word *adṛṣṭa* has in the *VS* (*Vaiśesika Sūtra*) is still controversial. It appears that until recently there was general agreement only in one regard : scholars started from the assumption that there is an original conceptual unity to the word whatever the context in which it occurs. Opinions differed greatly, however, on the precise nature of the unity. I do not want to survey all of them here; instead I should like to draw attention to two of them only, viz. that of E. Frauwallner and that of A. Thakur; these two can, to a large extent, be regarded as representatives.

1.1. Frauwallner, "to whom we owe the most penetrating and reliable analysis of the Vaiśeṣika system"[1], touches upon the concept of *adṛṣṭa* first in connection with what he calls the supplantation of the old atomistic-mechanistic world-view by new ideas "which changing times call forth"[2]. In the first place he mentions an idea "which was introduced at an early date into Vaiśeṣika thought where it was inorganic and destroyed the coherent structure of the old natural philosophy", viz. "the belief in the power of good and bad deeds". On the other hand he observes : "In Vaiśeṣika thought it was not neccessary to remodel the teaching of the cosmic power of deeds. It was simply assumed that the good and bad deeds of men, functioning as merit and demerit, produce the invisible (*adṛṣṭam*), and it was taught that it not only determines the

1. Quoted from W. Halbfass' article "Karma, *Apūrva* and 'Natural' Causes : Oberservations on the Growth and Limits of the Theory of *Saṁsāra*", published in : *Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Traditions*, ed. by W. D. O'Flaherty, Berkeley, 1980, p. 288.
2. Quoted from E. Frauwallner, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Bd. II, Salzburg, 1956, p. 90 f. [60, 63]—The translation from the German original is mine. Numbers within square brackets refer to the pages of the English translation (*Hirtory of Indian Philosophy*, vol. II, tr. by V.M. Bedekar, Delhi, 1973).

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destiny of souls in the cycle of mundane existences, but, like a natural force, also has influence upon the physical world". The latter function of the *adṛṣṭa* is explained by him by stating[3] : "Wherever the cause of a "natural" phenomenon could not be discovered, the facile explanation resorted to—it is in fact no explanation at all—was that it is caused by the invisible, and thus one got accustomed to dispensing with a penetrating inquiry into the nature of things."

1.1.1. FRAUWALLNER does not discuss when this change of views took place; but from scattered remarks and his exposition as a whole it can be deduced that according to him the introduction of the *karman* theory antedates the doctrine of categories. As in other instances also, in FRAUWALLNER's "stimulating, yet inevitably speculative"[4] attempt to reconstruct the early history of the natural philosophy and the Vaiśeṣika system, in this case, too, it is not clear what kind of textual evidence, which observations or deliberations have led him to this view of the development of the system. Indeed, one would really like to know why *dharma* and *adharma* were not included in the list of *guṇas*—which, to be sure, originally contained only 17 'qualities'[5]—if the *karman* theory was in fact adopted by Vaiśeṣikas before they developed their peculiar theory of categories; for, it is conspicuous that the relevant sūtra, viz. 1.1.5, forms part of those which unmistakably attest to this latter theory. Was FRAUWALLNER influenced by the fact that[6] "the belief in the power of good and bad deeds. . . . is age-old in India", that it is definitely earlier than the theory of categories ? That is to say, was this the consideration that led him to conclude that the *karman* theory was introduced first into the system ?

In this case one would have to make the following objection : The history of ideas in India is by no means lacking in clear examples for the

3. *O.c.*, l.c., p. 95 [63].
4. Quoted from HALBFASS, l. c., p. 288.
5. The interpretation of the conjunction *ca* used in *VS* 1.1.5 as given by Praśastapāda and the commentators of the *VS* cannot be accepted as corresponding to this sutra's original intention. HALBFASS (*l. c.*, p. 285, fn. 55) draws attention to the important testimony of "the Jaina author Jinabhadra (probably sixth century and apparently not familiar with Praśastapāda's work)" who "states explicity that the number of qualities in Vaiśeṣika is seventeen; cf. *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya*, ed. D. MALVANIA (Ahmedabad, 1966-1968,) vv. 2972 ff. with commentary".
6. Quoted from his work noted in fn. 2, p. 91 [67].

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coexistence, continuing for a long time, of two or more rival, even incompatible ideas; therefore, it is practically impossible to decide without additional evidence when by a 'system' of thought a certain conception was abandoned in favour largely of another, originally alien to it. And does not the history of materialism in India, though still largely veiled in obscurity, also show that there were traditional schools of thought able to withstand the pressure of widely accepted ideas, of a mighty trend of a period ?

1.2. THAKUR, on the other hand[7], entertains reasonable doubts as regards the historical reliability of Praśastapāda's equation of *adṛṣṭa* with *dharma* and *adharma*, and he starts from the assumption that Praśastapāda might well have been influenced in this case, too, by "the then available exegetical Vaiśeṣika literature no more available to us"[8]

By an independent examination of the occurrencs of the word *adṛṣṭa* in the *VS* he wants to prove his thesis, stated right at the outset, viz. that Kaṇāda "seems to divide the entities into known and unknown ones and to distinguish them by the terms *dṛṣṭa* and *adṛṣṭa*"[9]. That is to say, THAKUR comes to the conclusion that in most cases *adṛṣṭa*, especially as a member of the compound *adṛṣṭakārita*, means "unknown".

Yet, THAKUR, too, has a peculiar motive for arguing in this manner. While FRAUWALLNER apparently reproached the Vaiśeṣikas with having become disinclined to critical thought, it is obviously THAKUR's wish to pass Kaṇāda off as a true forerunner of intellectually sincere modern scientists; for he openly states :[10] ". . . . The method adopted by him" (i. e., Kaṇāda) "is one of our richest heritages. Modern sciences also have adopted it. Nobody will deny the fact that Kaṇāda developed in the hoary past a scientific attitude which guided him and his followers to ascertain the truth about this mysterious universe", and he does not even hesitate to add later the remark :[11] "The spirit of the sage who

7. *Cf.* his article "Adṛṣṭa and Dharma in the Vaiśeṣika Philosophy" in : *Ṛtam, Journal of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad*, Vol. I (1969), pp, 51-58 and the "Introduction" to his edition; *Vaiśeṣikadarśana of Kaṇāda* with, an anonymous commentary, Darbhanga, 1957, p. (18) f.
8. *L. c.*, p. 51.
9. *L. c.*, p. 52.
10. *L. c.*, p. 52.
11. *L. c.*, p. 53.

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seems to have firm faith in the gradual progress of human knowledge cannot be sacrificed". Indians have, no doubt, some right to be proud of the philosophical achievements of the Vaiśeṣika system; the conception of its assumed founder, Kaṇāda, as a thinker who not only frankly confesses the limits of his comprehension of truth, but is also hopeful as regards the progress to be attained by later generations, however, is clearly inspired by quite modern Western ideas about intellectual sincerity and constant progress.

1.2.1. Nevertheless, the main result of THAKUR's semantic investigation, viz. that *adṛṣṭa* means "not seen, i.e., not cognized, not known", deserves full attention though it calls likewise for a critical re-examination. That in research into the history of Indian philosophy, one should endeavour to free oneself as far as possible of preconceived ideas need hardly be stressed. Both the scholars, referred to in the foregoing, seem to lie under prejudices: FRAUWALLNER under a too negative one and THAKUR under one too positive.

2. From this background boldly stand out the studies undertaken during the last years by W. HALBFASS[12], to whom we not only owe a veritable revival of research into the Vaiśeṣika system, but who has also set a new and high standard of problem-consciousness and philological-cum-philosophical analysis. In a recent article of his[13] he also deals with "Karma, *Adṛṣṭa* and 'Natural' Causality", especially in Vaiśeṣika thought. In examining the *sūtras* in which the word *adṛṣṭa* occurs he comes to the conclusion that[14] "it is obvious that *adṛṣṭa* covers at least

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12. The references are (apart from the article mentioned in fn. 1) to the following articles of his:
   (1) "Remarks on the Vaiśeṣika concept of *sāmānya*" in: *Añjali, Papers on Indology and Buddhism: A Felicitation Vol. pres. to O.H. de A. Wijesekera* on his 60th birthday, ed. J. TILAKASIRI, Peradeniya, 1970, pp. 137-151;
   (2) "Conceptualization of 'Being' in Classical Vaiśeṣika" in: *WZKS* 19 (1975), pp. 183-198;
   (3) "Zum Begriff der Substanz (*dravya*) im Vaiśeṣika" in: *WZKS* 20 (1976), pp. 141-166;
   (4) "The Vaiśeṣika Concept of *guṇa* and the Problem of Universals" in: *WZKS* 24 (1980), pp. 225-238; and
   (5) "Praśastapāda's Concept of Substance" in: *Ṛtam, L. Sternbach Felicitation Volume*, Lucknow, 1981, pp. 537-544.
13. *Cf.* above fn. 1.
14. *L. c.*, p. 285.

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two different sets of problems and implications, and it may be questioned whether or to what extent there is an original conceptural unity in these two usages. As far as the physical and coamological usage of *adṛṣṭa* is concerned, its primary function seems to be to account for strange and extraordinary phenomena in nature which would not be explicable otherwise (magnetism, upward movement of fire, etc.), as well as for phenomena which seem to be signs or to contain an element of reward and punishment."[14a]

He further remarks[15] : "Although there is an obvious ethical implication in the second group of cases, the *Sūtra* text does not indicate in any way that the *adṛṣṭa*, which is supposed to cause these events, is to be understood as inhering in souls (*ātman*). This assumption would seem to be even more remote in cases like the upward flaming of fire, for which no ethical, retributive, or psychological implications are suggested. In cases like this, *adṛṣṭa* appears simply side by side with other causes of physical motions like 'gravity' (*gurutva*) or 'fluidity' (*dravatva*), which inhere in those material substances which they affect....The *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* does not state that the unseen physical power behind such phenomena as the upward flaming of fire and the retributive power of past deeds stored in the soul are identical nor does it state that they are different. We do not know when the identity, which is taken for granted by Praśastapāda and later Vaiśeṣikas, was first established in an explicit and definite manner....Yet, even the great systematizer Praśastapāda has not been able to harmonize completely or cover the ambiguities and dichotomies inherited from the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*.

I must say that I find these cautious considerations of a dichotomy in the concept of *adṛṣṭa* in the *VS* at the first go-off most plausible, i.e., much more convincing than the interpretations given by FRAUWALLNER and THAKUR. Therefore, I am inclined to accept HALBFASS' suggestion that[16] "*adṛṣṭa*, which may primarily have been a gap-filler in the explication of the universe, subsequently offered itself as a channel for a much more decidedly dharmic and soteriological re-interpretation of the Vaiśeṣika theory of the universe".

14a. As to the latter type of phenomena, HALBFASS seems to rely on Candrānanda's interpretations which I, however, consider to be highly doubtful.

15. *L. c.*, p. 286.

16. *L. c.*, p. 289.

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2.1. The hypothesis, more hinted at by HALBFASS than expressly stated, to which one is nevertheless inevitably led by his important observations, consists in assuming that the 'conceptual unity in the two usages', obviously presupposed by Praśastapāda and those who have written *VS* commentaries in the strict sense, is not original, but the result of the attempt to bring to a common denominator disparate usages of the word, belonging most probably to historically different layers of the *VS*. As for THAKUR in distrusting the testimony of Praśastapāda, he was on the right track; yet he seems not to have taken into proper account that the extant text of the *VS* cannot be regarded as a unitary whole, i.e., as a work composed in one piece. That it, on the contrary, contains many historically different layers which can be—and have in part already been[17]—distinguished, and must indeed be held apart, is the basic assumption from which any research in the *VS* has to start today.

The explanations offered by the commentators, including Praśastapāda, on the other hand, have to be looked at with utter reserve and examined very critically, for they start from the opposite assumption and, hence, consider it as one of their major objects to bring out into relief an internal consistence, systematic coherence and terminological unity they simply presuppose ; In effect, they cannot but be regarded as highly biased witnesses, and the question whether they (still) are aware of an original irreconcilability is, apart from being hardly answerable, of little importance as regards the necessity of an independent interpretation of the *mūla* text and the method to be applied towards this end.

2.2. HALBFASS' hypothesis does indeed furnish a much better explanation of various strange elements over which one stumbles in reading the *VS*. However, one wonders whether over and above its apparent higher plausibility it can be supported by evidence that does not amount to an *argumentum e silentio*, but is directly based on the usage in the *VS*. The condition such a piece of evidence has to fulfil is, of course, that in the context of the *sūtra* concerned the expression *adṛṣṭa*

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17. *Cf.* especially Vol. II of E. FRAUWALLNER's *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Salzburg, 1956, his—still unpublished—article "Der ursprüngliche Anfang der Vaiśeṣikasutren", my article "Remarks on the Definition '*yoga*' in the Vaiśeṣika sutra", to be published in the Felicitation Volume for J. W. DE JONG, finally, my monograph : *Textkritische und exegetische Untersuchungen zum Vaiśeṣikasūtra, I. Der sechste Adhyāya*, still under preparation.

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cannot be interpreted to stand for *dharma* and *adharma*[18], i.e, as having the meaning "the 'invisible' [results and purposes of ritual and ethical activities]"[19].

In this connection attention has to be drawn first to the fact that, besides *adṛṣṭa*, the opposite expression, viz., *dṛṣṭa*, is likewise attested in the *VS*. Hence it appears that THAKUR is right at least insofar as the *VS* distinguishes between entities predicated of as *dṛṣṭa* and *adṛṣṭa*, respectively. An examination of all the occurrences of *dṛṣṭa* and *adṛṣṭa* in the *VS*[20] yields, as regards the first expression, the result that in two cases, viz., *VS* 8. 13 and 2. 1. 10[21], even the plural is used; in the first instance with the meaning "seen (i. e. perceived) [things]", whereas in the other case "visible (i. e. perceivable) [entities]" seem to be intended. Yet the latter *sūtra*, viz., 2. 1. 10 : *na ca dṛṣṭānāṃ sparśa ity adṛṣṭaliṅgo vāyuḥ*, requires closer study.

2.2 1. THAKUR obviously regarded the use of *adṛṣṭa* in this sūtra as exceptional, for he says[22] : "Of course we find the use of the expression *a-dṛṣṭa* in the sense of 'not visually cognized' in......*VS* II. 1. 10". Unfortunately, he does not state explicitly how he interprets the *sūtra* as a whole; but from his rendering of *adṛṣṭa* it may be deduced that he took it to mean : "And/but since touch (or tangibility) does not belong to [the type of] visually cognized [marks], wind has for its mark [something] not visually cognized, [but cognized by the sense of touch]".

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18. According to a—still unidentified—quotation from a (lost ?) Vaiśeṣika work, preserved in Abhayadevasūri's *Tattvabodhavidhāyinī* (*Ācāryaśrīsiddhasenadivākarapraṇītaṁ Saṁmatitarkaprakaraṇam*. . . ., Ahmedabad, *Saṁvat* 1985, p. 685), the *parokṣādṛṣṭasvarūpa* was thus described by Vaiśeṣikas : "*kartṛphaladāyī ātmaguṇa ātmamanaḥsaṁyogajaḥ svakāryavirodhī dharmādharmarūpatayā bhedavān adṛṣṭākhyo guṇaḥ*"/; *cf*. also Kamalaśīla's *Pañjikā* on Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṁgraha*, v. 690 (ed. E. KRISHNAMACHARYA, *GOS*, 30-31, p. 23; ed. Swami Dwarikadas SHASTRI, *Bauddha Bhāratī Series* 1-2, p. 286).
19. Quoted from HALBFASS, *l.c.* (*cf*. fn. 1), p. 285.
20. They can easily be traced with the help of "An Index to the Philosophical Sutras" by M. HONDA in : *Proceedings of the Okayurayama Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. I (1954), pp. 244-305. It should, however, be noted that this index is based on Śaṅkaramiśra's *sūtrapāṭha*; a new consolidated Vaiśeṣika *sūtrapāṭha* and word index is presently being prepared by a student of our institute, Mrs. U. PLEWNIA-ERB.
21. The numbering I follow is always that given in : *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* of Kaṇāda with the commentary of Candrānanda, critically ed. by Muni Śrī JAMBUVIJAYAJI, (*GOS* 136), Baroda 1961.
22. *L. c.*, p. 53.

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This interpretation is, indeed, in principle conceivable. Yet it would imply that by *VS* 2. 1. 8. (*viṣāṇī kakudmān prāntevāladhiḥ sāsnāvān iti gotve dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam*) either the term *liṅga* is defined (as referring only to something visually cognized) or the term *dṛṣṭam liṅgam* is exemplified. It has to be admitted that the example given in 2. 1. 8, viz., the characteristic marks of a cow, or rather an animal of the bovine species, might be taken to point in both these directions. However, in this case one would expect 2. 1. 9 to read *na ca sparśaḥ*, "but touch (or tangibility) is not [ a visually cognized *liṅga* ]", not *sparśaś ca*; for, otherwise one would have to make the most unlikely assumption that only *liṅgam* is still valid (*anuvṛtta*) in 2. 1. 9, that is to say, that the author has, quite needlessly, used a rather obscure wording. Besides, as to the first alternative, the argument could not but be styled as almost foolish : to define first the concept of *liṅga* as something that is only seen and to add later that it likewise includes something cognized by the sense of touch, i. e., is ultimately something perceived by any sense-organ whatsoever, would reveal a deplorably low standard of almost pre-logical thinking that should not be imputed even to a philosophical text of a comparatively early period of thought. And, to be sure, there is no evidence that the distinction between 'characteristic marks' in terms of the sense organ they are perceived by was ever deemed in Indian philosophy to be of significant importance.

Therefore, one cannot but arrive at the conclusion that *dṛṣṭa* in 2. 1. 8 means "perceived, cognized by the senses", that the particular example given was chosen because it is hallowed by tradition, i. e., a *mūrdhābhiṣikta udāharaṇa*, and that *dṛṣṭānām* in 2. 1. 10 is not a *genitivus partitivus*,—which, by the way, would also be unnecessarily unequivocal.

2.2.2. There is, however, another interpretation of *VS* 2. 1. 10 that calls for a more detailed critical examination; it immediately leads into the intricate problems connected with the theory of inference (*laiṅgikam* [ *jñānam* ]) in the *VS*. What I am referring to is the study of N. Schuster, the last one to deal with them extensively[23]. She is of the following opinion[24] : "The mark is, normally, something perceived, as horns, dewlap, etc., are the '*dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam*' (perceived mark) of the cow",—in a note she refers to *VS* 2. 1. 8. "In some cases, the connection between the entities and their marks is not perceived—wind (*vāyu*),

23. "Inference in the Vaiśeṣikasutras", in : *JIPh* I (1970-72), pp. 341-395.
24. *L. c.*, p. 342.

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thus has tangibility or touch (*sparśa*) as its '*adṛṣṭaliṅgam*' (unperceived mark)"; in another note[25] she quotes *VS* 2. 1. 9 and 10, renders them by "And tangibility (is a mark of wind). And tangibility is not the mark of things (which are) perceived—therefore it is the unperceived mark (with respect) to wind", and adds the explicatory remark: "This expression which I translate as 'unperceived mark' as contrasted with 'perceived mark' is a technical term; it does not mean that the mark itself has not been perceived, but that its connection with its possessor has not been".

That is to say, according to SCHUSTER the *VS* distinguishes between the technical terms *dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam* and *adṛṣṭaliṅgam*. Yet she does not come up with any further evidence for the latter one which one would in any case expect to read *adṛṣṭam liṅgam*. Her sole argument being the occurrence of the word *adṛṣṭaliṅgo* in *VS* 2. 1. 10, it is her interpretation of this *sūtra* on which critical attention has to be focused.

2.2.2.1. The first question that arises here is whether the intepretation of the second part of the *sūtra*, i. e., of *ity adṛṣṭaliṅgo vāyuḥ*, as given by her is at all grammatically possible. This much is clear right from the beginning: to be precise, this expression cannot be equivalent to "therefore it is the unperceived mark (with respect) to wind"; for, the possibility of a substantival compound having been attracted in gender to the word it refers to, can be safely ruled out. *Adṛṣṭaliṅgo* cannot but be a *bahuvrīhi*; and, on the assumption made by SCHUSTER, it has to be translated verbatim as "therefore wind is somthing the characteristic mark of which is not perceived". But in view of the undeniable fact that the particular *liṅga* of the wind, i. e., *sparśa*, is on the contrary actually perceived, the interpretation to be preferred with SCHUSTER would be "......is something the characteristic mark of which is an 'unperceived mark", and this would, according to SCHUSTER's interpretation, have to be taken to ultimately mean. "......is something the characteristic mark of which is a mark the connection of which with its possessor has not been perceived". It must be allowed that SCHUSTER has assumed a resolution of the compound that is, no doubt, possible, not only according to the better feeling for words the indigenous grammarians cannot be denied[26].

25. Viz. 8, *L. c.*, p. 386 f.

26. *Cf. Vārttika* 12 on Pāṇ. 2.2.24 (*Mahābhāṣya*, ed. F. KIELHORN, Vol. I, 1962,[3] p. 423.21 ff.); although according to Kātyāyana and Patañjali one would expect the prior member to be in the locative, it is to be noted that there are also *bahuvrīhis* of this type with the stem as prior member; *cf.* J. WACKERNAGEL, *Altindische Grammatik*, Bd. II, 1, Göttingen 1957, [109 a] 5) as well as A. DEBRUNNER's "Nachträge", ib., p. 78.

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The other assumption of hers, however, viz., that Vaiśeṣikas in order to name a characteristic mark "the connection of which with its possessor has not been perceived" have coined a technical term *adṛṣṭa-liṅgam*, or *adṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam*, is highly problematic.

2.2.2.2. This assumption, which seems to have suggested itself to SCHUSTER because of the expression *dṛṣṭam liṅgam* in 2.1.8, has the following implications : One would have to assume

1. that both these terms are extraordinarily pregnant expressions insofar as—in strong contrast to what is actually denoted by them—the meaning intended would be "a mark the connection of which with its possessor has (not) been perceived";
2. that *VS* 2.1.15 *(vāyur iti sannikarṣe*[27] *pratyakṣābhāvād dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgaṃ na vidyate)*, whatever the argumentative function it may have within the given context, is either redundant—because according to SCHUSTER it is stated already in the forgoing that in the case of wind the particular mark is of the *adṛṣṭa* type (in the sense assumed by her for this term)—or it is nonsensical—because in none of the preceding sūtras the existence of a *dṛṣṭa liṅga* would have been asserted;
3. that the stage reached in the development of reflexion on inference as a means of valid cognition could not but be considered to be quite anvanced, since the *VS* would, on her assumption, clearly distinguish between two types of conclusive marks both based on whether their connection with their possessor has been perceived or not, i. e., on the basis of the *liṅgin* being perceptible; that is to say, one would have to assume that the *VS* makes a distinction similar to that drawn by Candramati[28] between *dṛṣṭasāmānya* and *adṛṣṭasāmānya*[29], however what

27. The reading *sati sannikarṣe*, found in Candrānanda and anonymous Vyākhyā (*cf.* the edition of the *VS* noted in fn. 7, p. 21), is most probably of later origin.

28. H. UI, "The Vaiśeṣika Philosophy according to the Daśapadārtha-Śastra. . . .", London, 1917, p. 97 and E. FRAUWALLNER's article "Candramati und sein Daśapadārthaśāstram" in *Studia Indologica, Festschrift für W. Kirfel*, Bonn, 1955, pp. 73 ff.

29. In fn. 13 (*l. c.*, p. 73) FRAUWALLNER remarks : "One is tempted to see in this expression" (of the Chinese translation) "the Indian *sāmānyato dṛṣṭam*; the Chinese rendering, however, rather points to *dṛṣṭasāmānyam* and *adṛṣṭasāmānyam*. . .".

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> SCHUSTER in fact supposes—and it now appears that it was this assumption that has inspired her to offer this peculiar interpretation—is the influence of the Sāṃkhya philosopher Vṛṣagaṇa, for she says,[30] "......it looks very much as though much of what the *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* discuss was borrowed directly from the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*".

As to the first implication, already the manner in which I have stated it above indicates that I consider the existence of a technical term *adṛṣṭa-liṅgam*, or *adṛṣṭam liṅgam*, to be extremely doubtful. Even if it is assumed that the counterpositive term *dṛṣṭaṃ liṇgam* was created first and later re-interpreted so as to mean a mark the connection of which with its possessor has been perceived, one still fails to understand why Vaiśeṣikas should have coined the term *adṛṣṭaliṅgam*, or *adṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam*, that is indeed open to misconception. Just because it is neatly parallel to the other one ?

There is, however, no evidence to show that *dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam* in *VS* 2.1.8 does not mean what is actually denoted by it, viz., "a mark that has been perceived". This does not, of course, preclude the possibility of a later re-interpreation of the term, either within the stages of development comprised by the extant *VS* itself or in the course of its reception by later commentators or Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika authors of independent works. In fact, *dṛṣṭam liṅgam* is met with again in Bhāsarvajña's *Nyāyasāra* and *-bhūṣaṇa*[31]. According to his definition[32] this term is equivalent to *pratyakṣayogyārthānumāpakam*; that is to say, *dṛṣṭam liṅgam* is conceived as a mark "that allows to infer an object which could in principle also be perceived", and which must have been previously actually perceived, for Bhāsarvajña gives in his *Bhūṣaṇa* the additional explanation[33] : *pratyakṣayogyatā ca pūrvadṛṣṭatvenaivāvagamyate/yasmād yo'rthaḥ pūrvaṃ pratyakṣeṇa dṛṣṭaḥ, sa eva deśāntaritaḥ kālāntarito vānumīyate 'tas tad anumānaṃ dṛṣṭārthaviṣayatvena dṛṣṭam uktam/...*

Hence it follows that Bhāsarvajña, too, though fully aware of the decisive role which the connection between *liṅga* and *liṅgin* plays in

30. *L. c.*, p. 352. cf. also p. 349.
31. *Śrīmadācārya bhāsarvajñapraṇītasya Nyāyasārasya svopajñaṁ vyākhyānaṁ Nyāyabhūṣaṇam tadetat. . . . Svāmī Yogīndrānandaḥ. . . . sampāditavān, Vārāṇasī*, 1968, p. 229.
32. *O. c., p.* 272.
33. *O. c.*, p. 230.

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inference[34], uses the term *dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam* not figuratively, but in the sense the word *dṛṣṭa* one actually expects to have when attributed to *liṅga*. Thus Bhāsarvajña's conception comes close to what SCHUSTER read into *dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam* in *VS* 2.1.8; yet, significantly enough, the term Bhāsarvajña uses for a *liṅga* of the opposite type, i. e., "a mark that allows to infer an object which by its nature is outside the range of perception" *(svabhāvaviprakṛṣṭārthānumāpakam*[35]*)* is *sāmānyato dṛṣṭam* ! This distinction, however, is Bhāsarvajña's own, and though probably influenced also by the *VS*, has to be regarded as a later development. SCHUSTER cannot be said to have adduced a circumstantial proof for the assumption that the author of *VS* 2.1.8-10 had in mind an equally eleborate dichotomy. Whatever the reason that inspired SCHUSTER to make her bold assumption—the occurrence of the complex expression *adṛṣṭaliṅgo* in *VS* 2.1.10 or the alleged influence of Vṛṣagaṇa or both these points taken together—there is no reason to believe in the existence of a term *adṛṣṭaliṅgam*, or *adṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam*.

It has, however, to be admitted that it is not possible to argue against SCHUSTER in the following manner also : Since *dṛṣṭe* in *VS* 3.1.14 *(pravṛttinivṛttī ca pratyagātmani dṛṣṭe paratra liṅgam*[36]*)* agrees in gender and number with the dual subject and not with *liṅgam*, *dṛṣṭam* in 2.1.8 too cannot be taken to be an attribute of *liṅgam*. For, the syntactical differences obtaining between these two sūtras must not be overlooked, and the existence of a (terminologically) fixed expression *dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam* does not, of course, preclude the possibility of a 'free' use of the participle *dṛṣṭa*. This means that inspite of the apparent internal connection between *VS* 3.1.14 and 2.1.8, established by the term *dṛṣṭa* (i. e., by the fact that in both cases something perceived is spoken of as forming a conclusive mark), it is advisable to keep both formulations apart and to take 2.1.8 to mean : "......this *(iti)* is the mark perceived with reference

34. *Cf.* his definition of *anumāna*, *o. c.*, p. 194 : *samyagavinābhāvena parokṣānubhavasādhanam anumānam*, and its explanation by the *Bhūṣaṇa*.

35. *O. c.*, p. 272.

36. Candrānanda gives the following explanation : *pratyagātmeti śarīram|śarīre pravṛttinivṛttī dṛṣṭe ātmānam anumāpayataḥ|śarīraṁ prayatnavatādhiṣṭhitaṁ hitāhitapravṛttinivṛttimattvād ghaṭavat.|*
The interpretation of *pratyagātman* apart, this seems to correspond to the author's intention.

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to the nature of a cow [by which it can be inferred that an animal which is only partially in the field of vision is a cow, or bull[37]]".

To continue now with the last, i. e., third implication : It may well be that Vṛṣagaṇa exercised influence on some parts of the *VS*. But as far as the particular influence assumed by SCHUSTER is concerned, it would fail to account in a convincing manner for the change in terminology; for, one would have to assume that in the *VS*, Vṛṣagaṇa's *viśeṣato dṛṣṭam* was replaced by *dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam* and his *sāmānyato dṛṣṭam* by *adṛṣṭaliṅgam* (or *adṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam*). This would in many respects be a terminological step backwards, a passage from preciseness to ambiguity the motive for which would be anything but intelligible. Of decisive importance, however, is the fact that Vṛṣagaṇa's distinction between *viśeṣato dṛṣṭam* and *sāmānyato dṛṣṭam* has nothing at all to do with the perceptibility of the connection between *liṅga* and *liṅgin*. Instead it aims at the character of the object inferred, viz., whether it is a particular thing (e. g., *the* particular fire), perceived already previously, or something general (e. g. *a* fire), that either in a given situation happens to be outside the range of perception or that by its very nature cannot be perceived at all[38].

Now, SCHUSTER seems to assume[38a] that the relation between Vṛṣagaṇa's distinction and that allegedly found in the *VS* consists in that the object inferred by a *viśeṣato dṛṣṭam anumānam* (*dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam*) has already perviously been perceived, whereas in the case of a *sāmānyato dṛṣṭa* inference *(adṛṣṭaliṅga)* it has not been perceived at all; and on the basis of her, I think, untenable interpretation of *VS* 2. 15-17, she further

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37. *Cf.* Candrānanda's introductory remark on *VS* 2.1.9 : *yathā apratyakṣāyāṁ govyaktau kathaṁcid gṛhyamāṇā viṣāṇādayo liṅgaṁ dṛṣṭam anumāpakās tathā. . . .* If it is all the marks (referred to in *VS* 2.1.8) taken together and not just one of them that constitute the *liṅga* of a cow, then one wonders which situation Candrānanda had in mind when exemplifying the operation of this mark; for it is hardly imaginable that all the marks are perceived, yet not the possessor itself. A further question posed by *VS* 2.1.8 is why, instead of the marks themselves, the possessor as characterized by them is named; Candrānanda's explanation, viz. *viṣāṇyādibhiḥ śabdais tadvatpratipādakair apy arthavyāpārād dharma eva vyapadiśyante*, is not at all convincing; it seems rather that the author of *VS* 2.1.8 wants to describe the actual cognition of a person who sees an animal and thus knows that it is "characterized by horns, etc."

38. On Vṛṣagaṇa's theory of cognition *cf.* in the first place E. FRAUWALLNER's article "Die Erkenntnislehre desklassischen Sāṁkhya-Systems", in : *WZKSO* II (1958), pp. 84-739.

38a. *L. c.*, p. 248.

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makes the assumption that Kaṇāda himself distrusted the conclusiveness of a *sāmānyato dṛṣṭa* inference (*adṛṣṭaliṅga*). However, the wording of *VS* 2. 1. 8 does not by any means indicate that its author refers to a special inference by which a particular; individual cow, that was previously perceived, is now cognized. Of, at least, equal importance is another quite unplausible consequence of SCHUSTER's assumption: one would have to assume that in 2. 1. 9 only *liṅgam* is still valid (as in the case of THAKUR's interpretation of 2. 1. 8; see above). Besides, the fact too, admitted by SCHUSTER herself that in the case of ether no doubts are raised against the *sāmānyato dṛṣṭa* inference by which its existence is established, namely in *VS* 2. 1. 20, does not speak in favour of her assumption.

Therefore, one cannot but arrive at the conclusion that, whatever the influence Vṛṣagaṇa may have exercised on the *VS* elsewhere, at this particular point it is nowhere tangible, in any case not in the sense apparently assumed by SCHUSTER.

I do not, of course, want to dispute that Vṛṣagaṇa (in paving the way for his 'rational' exposition of Sāṃkhya metaphysics) was aware of the distinction between an *anumāna* that allows to infer the existence of an object in principle perceptible and an inference for things lying outside the range of perception (*atīndriyā bhāvāḥ*), but obviously this was not the dichotomy intended by the terms *viśeṣato dṛṣṭam* and *sāmānyato dṛṣṭam.* FRAUWALLNER too, only assumes Vṛṣagaṇa's influence on Candramati, but he does not at all overlook the differences between the inference theories of both these philosophers which he explains by stating[38b] that the latter "has altered many an element".

As to the second implication, it too involves considerable difficulties; they are indicated by SCHUSTER herself, yet obviously not realized in their full significance, for she states.[39] "The case is somewhat different with wind (*vāyu*). First, sūtras 2.1. 8-10 contrast the perceived marks of the cow (horns, etc.) with the 'unperceived mark' of wind which is tangibility (*sparśa*). Tangibility is, nonetheless, the mark, perceptible as sound is, and following the model of the argument for sound and physical space[40], one would expect it to suffice as proof for wind. *Sūtras* II. 1. 15-17, however, find it not sufficient as a mark because it is impossible to

38b. *Cf.* his article mentioned in fn. 28, p. 79.

39. *L. c.*, p. 342 f.

40. Read : ether !

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observe its connectien with what possesses it; therefore wind, the possessor cf tangibility, has no perceived mark (*dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam*) and no particular possessor ean be established by 'seeing from the general'. To compound the reader's amazement, no further attempt at an inference of wind is even made. and the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras*, whicn are supposed to admit only two means of cognition, perception and inference, conclude that the only way to know that wind exists is from scripture".

SCHUSTER contrasts *VS* 2. 1. 9 f. with 2. 1. 10 ff., i. e., the sūtras intendd to prove the existence of ether (*ākāśa*); it is most significant that neither in 2.1.20 itself nor in one of the immediately following sūtras the expression *adṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam* is used; instead the term actually used is *liṅga* only; likewise due attention has to be given to the fact that objections like those raised in 2.1. 15-17 against the inference of wind are lacking in this case, and that on the other hand the objections of 2.1. 15-17 agree (except for the very first word) verbatim with those raised in 3.2. 6-8 against the proof for the existence of the soul, although in 3.2.4 the term used is again not *adṛṣṭa liṅga*, but *ātmaliṅgāni*. Therefore, the conclusion suggests itself that a 'term' *adṛṣṭaliṅgam*, or *adṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam* does not exist at all. But there are further and even more convincing arguments that can be brought forward against the central hypothesis framed by SCHUSTER. It should, however, be borne in mind that in the following I shall only summarize what has been dealt with elsewhere by me in greater detail[41].

First, it should be noted that Diṅnāga who in his *Pramāṇasamuccaya* devotes considerable space to a critical examination of the theory of knowledge as taught by the Vaiśeṣikas[42], apparently does not know of a distinction between *dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam* and *adṛṣṭaliṅgam*, or *adṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam*. Otherwise, one would expect him to have mentioned it at least in the context of the criticism he directs against the Vaiśeṣika theory of inference and he would have framed his refutation of the Vaiśeṣika "proof for the existence of ether, etc." in a different manner : his argument against this particular inference, viz., that neither the *dharmin* nor its connection with

41. Viz. in the study referred to above in fn. 17.
42. For the sake of convenience I refer to the appendix p. XXXI ff. in Jambūvijaya's edition of the *VS* (*cf.* above, fn. 21) as well as to his "*saptamaṃ pariśiṣṭam*", p. 197 ff.

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the *dharma* are proved[43], would have a different form had he referred to a Vaiśeṣika argument which already admitted that in these cases the connection between the *liṅga/dharma* and the *liṅgin/dharmin* is not seen or perceived. And, to be sure, there is no reason whatsoever to believe that what Diṅnāga's criticism is directed against is only the inconsistency of the *VS* in which the inference for wind adduced first is refuted later, while in the case of ether no such scruples are voiced.

Secondly, apart from the fact that SCHUSTER's interpretation of *VS* 2.1.17 (*tasmād āgamikam*) does not stand a critical examination[44], it is to be noted that she either did not realize or overlooked that in fact another inferential proof for the existence of wind is adduced later, viz., in 2.1.18 and 19, and that these latter two sūtras have, judged from a synchronic point of view, the function of a *siddhānta*. As to the entire portion of the *VS* beginning with 2.1.8 and ending with 2.1.19, SCHUSTER obviously fails to recognize its true dialectical structure; this becomes particularly conspicuous in the case of 2.1.15-19 where in reality the first three sūtras form the objections of an opponent against 2.1.9 ff. and the following two sūtras are meant to refute them.[45] Regarding the relation in which *VS* 2.1.15-17 stand to 3.2.6-8 it can be shown not only that the latter have served as a model for the former, i.e., that 2.1.15-17 are of later origin than 3.2.6-8[46], but also that the opponent of 2.1.15-17 is only fictitious in the sense that the doctrine itself could never have existed; for, it can hardly be assumed that an adherent of a rival school ever denied the existence of the 'substance' wind alone. The reason for the later insertion of 2.1.15-17 is most probably that a transmitter or redactor of the *VS* came to realize that the objections raised in 3.2.6-8 against the *ātmānumāna* are likewise valid with reference to the proof for the existence of wind as given in 2.1.9 f. and, hence, did his best to fill in this gap in the argument by adapting the objections formulated in 3.2.6-8 to

43. *Cf.* Jambūvijaya, *o. c.*, p. 198.
44. In the study noted in fn. 17 it will be shown in great detail that *āgamikam* (note that this is a neutre) cannot but mean what Candrānanda gives as explanation, viz. *pravādamātram*, "nothing but an (traditional) assertion [of your's that lacks any proof whatsoever]."
45. In this respect Candrānanda's interpretation of these two sūtras, introduced by *naitat*, is clearly correct.
46. But these latter, in their turn, were apparently equally unknown to Diṅnāga.

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the new context (=2.1.15-17) and by adding what he considered a convincing counter argument (=2.1.18 and 19)[46a]

Although SCHUSTER already in the introductory passage of her article speaks of her impression that[47] "there seem to be difinite strata within those sections of the *sūtras* dealing with inference", she obviously did not take into account this possibility as regards the section of the *VS* now under discussion; nonetheless, this text-critical interpretation suggests itself to any critical and unbiased mind. Her view that it was Kaṇāda himself who[48], "rejects this possibility" (viz., of proving the existence of wind by means of an *sāmānyato dṛṣṭa* inference) "because no particular entity can be inferred by this method, only something in general", is rather strange, to say the least; in any case, it is untenable.

As soon as the real dialectical purpose of *VS* 2.1.15-17 is taken into account, i.e., as soon as these sūtras are recognized to be formally objections, one cannot but admit that the opponent in 2.1.15 denies *(na)* the existence *(vidyate)* of a *dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam*. Because of the argument adduced in the preceding part of this sūtra, viz., *vāyur iti sannikarṣe pratyakṣābhāvād*[49], however, it cannot be gainsaid that the author's conception of the term *dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam* includes the essential condition that the connection between the *liṅga* and its possessor must have been perceived previously, i.e., that he takes the expression to mean that the character of being a conclusive mark of something perceived is likewise realized by having perceived previously both, *liṅga* and *liṅgin*, together.

Yet, this observation does not invalidate what has been stated above on this term in 2.1.8; the criticism of 2.1.15-17 as a whole attests to a much more advanced stage of reflexion on logical problems, and these latter *sūtras* can be shown, as already mentioned, to be of later origin; therefore, it may be assumed without hesitation that this is a later, more elaborate interpretation. Had the author of *VS* 2.1.8 himself realized

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46a. Viz., that the existence of wind is proved by the word 'wind' because the word was created by persons who are '*asmadviśiṣṭa*', i. e., who have perceived wind before coining its name.

47. *L. c.*, p. 341.

48. *L. c.*, p. 342.

49. *Cf.* Candrānanda's explanation : *yathā 'ayaṁ gauḥ' iti go's cakṣuṣā sannikarṣe sati pratyakṣeṇa viṣāṇādīni tadyogitayā dṛṣṭāni kadācil liṅgam, naivaṁ tvacā vāyoḥ sannikarṣe sati 'ayaṁ vāyuḥ' iti pratyakṣeṇa tadguṇatayā sparśa upalabdho yenānupalabhyamānaṁ kadācid vāyum anumāpayet*|.

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the importance of the connection between *liṅga* and *liṅgin*, he could not have expressed himself the way he actually does, nor argued in the manner of 2.1.9 f. ! That is to say, my own interpretation of 2.1.15 ff. implies that the author of 2.1.8 ff. (which belong to an earlier stratum of the *VS*) was—like the author of *NS* 1.1.5[50]—aware of the fact that inference presupposes perception, but was yet unable to recognize what was, to be sure, discovered only later and called *avinābhāva*, *vyāpti*, etc., i.e., he had taken the step from *liṅga*, "characteristic mark", as used in everyday language, to the logical term *liṅga*, "conclusive mark", but had not yet clearly realized what is implied unconsciously by the *laukika* word, viz. that the connection of the mark with its possessor should have been perceived previously.

Inspite of the apparently higher level of reflexion revealed by *dṛṣṭaṃ liṅgam* as understood by the author of *VS* 2.1.15 (ff.) it has to be admitted that his denial of the existence of a "perceived mark" makes sense—not on SCHUSTER's assumption[51], but—only if in the foregoing this existence had been asserted either explicitly or implicitly. The only sūtra he can be said to is 2.1.10. Therefore, one cannot but arrive at the conclusion that SCHUSTER's interpretation of this sūtra does not correpond to its original intention.

2.2.3. Thus, the way is cleared for another and, I think, much better interpretation of *VS* 2.1.10. I propose to translate it thus : "But (*ca*) since touch (or tangibility) is not [a charactesistic and conclusive mark] of [entities][52] that are seen (i.e., perceived[53]), that of which [this] conclusive mark (namely touch, or tangibility) [allows inference] is [an entity] not seen (i.e., perceived), [namely] wind".

That is to say, I take the *sūtra* to be a rather complex, pregnant argument in three steps, viz. : (1) *sparśa* is not a characteristic and conclusive mark of visible or perceivable entities; (2) therefore, it must be that of something imvisible or not perceivable; (3) the invisible or imperceptible entity the existence of which can be inferred by *sparśa* is wind

50. *Cf.* my article "Die 'dreifache' Schlussfolgerung im Nyāyasūtra 1.1.5" in *IIJ* XI (1969), pp. 190-211.

51. Quoted above.

52. It looks very much as though *VS* 2.1.10 is based on the assumption that it has still to be determined to which category these entities belong; see below.

53. Candrānanda adds by way of explanation : *yadi khalv ayaṃ kṣityādisparśo 'bhaviṣyad gandharasarūpaiḥ sahopalabhemahi. . . .*

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(the other invisible or inperceptible entities, i.e., 'substances', being excluded because in order to prove their existence other specific marks are adduced). As to syntax, I take *adṛṣṭaliṅgo* to be equivalent to *adṛṣṭe* or *adṛṣṭasya liṅgaṃ yasya saḥ* and to be the subject of the sentence[54]. The construction is admittedly a bit awkward; nevertheless, it is, to be sure, not only possible, but also the only one that really makes sense in the narrower and wider context. The complexity of this formulation was apparently felt also by the commentators; as only too often, they do not, however, try to explain it literally, but confine themselves to reformulate its gist.

2.2.4. After what has been said in the foregoing it need hardly to be emphasized that this hypothesis passes muster more easily than that framed by SCHUSTER. But my hypothesis also leads to further questions. Thus, what should perhaps be stressed is that there is every appearance that the conception of *liṅga* evident in *VS* 2.1.8-10 forms the oldest stage in the development of the Vaiśeṣika theory of inference. This conception is—similar to that of the *NS*—characterized, as already suggested, by a palpable lack of reflexion on the true nature of logical reason, and this is why it was rejected by later logicians, e.g., by Diṅnāga.

The analysis of 2 1.8-10 has, however, yielded the result that here the author distinguishes *de facto* between a mark that allows to infer something which is in principle itself perceivable and a mark by which the existence of something can be inferred that by its nature lies beyond the range of perception. Nevertheless, this distinction—like that of *NS* 1.1.5 between *pūrvavat* and *śeṣavat* on the one hand and *sāmānyato dṛṣṭam* on the other—does not imply that the logical character of the *liṅga* and its connection with its possessor had already been reflected upon; on the contrary, e.g., the *Nyāyabhāṣya* on *NS* 1.1.5 clearly shows that this was not the case, and the further development of Indian logic no less corroborates this assumption.

However, it may be questioned whether in the *VS*, e.g. in 2.1.20 and 3.2.4, a still older stage is attested, one characterized by the fact that not even the perceptibility or imperceptibility of the object to be

54. That is to say, my translation is, for stylistic reasons, not in every respect faithful to the original. A literal translation would be: ". . . . (i. e. perceived), that of which the characteristic mark (i. e. touch or tangibility) is one [that allows to infer] what is not seen (i. e. not perceived), is wind."

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inferred is taken notice of. I do not dare to decide this question, but I gather the impression that this assumption is confirmed by the criticism Diṅnāga directs against the Vaiśeṣika theory of inference.

It was mentioned above that the kind of influence by Vṛṣagaṇa on *VS* 2.1.8-10 assumed by SCHUSTER is most unlikely. What has prompted her to make this assumption was obviously the belief that this approach has been suggested by FRAUWALLNER; for she expressly states that[55] "it is FRAUWALLNER's suggestion that the Vaiśeṣika inference theories should be examined in the light of Sāṃkhya epistemology that I am here pursuing". Now, when going through the two articles of FRAUWALLNER's referred to by SCHUSTER[56], one fails to detect such a general suggestion; instead what is actually found are quite explicit and clear statements showing that FRAUWALLNER himself while reckoning with specific influences exercised by Vṛṣagaṇa on the *VS*, nevertheless saw them only in the first *āhnika* of *adhyāya* III; for he says[57] : "It is here that we meet with a theory of inference that is likewise independent of dialectics and that is based on the stable connection between two things, the different types of which connection one seeks to determine.[58] Here, too, perception falls back on the second position behind the theory of inference; and the Vaiśeṣika system makes use also of inference by way of exclusion" (i.e., *pariśeṣa* or rather *avīta* as called by Vṛṣagaṇa).

On the other hand FRAUWALLNER advocates the opinion that[59] "already the bipartition of inference" (viz., into *dṛṣṭasāmānya* and *adṛṣṭasāmānya*[60] "as taught by him", i.e., Candramati, is a striking proof of his dependence from Sāṃkhya". That is to say, according to FRAUWALLNER a further influence of Vṛṣagaṇa can be shown only on the Vaiśeṣika author Candramati whom he dates[61] "between 450 and 550

55. *L. c.*, fn. 1, p. 386.
56. Viz. in fn. 1, p. 386; these articles are noted above in fns. 28 and 38.
57. *L. c.* (*cf.* fn. 38), p. 134.
58. For significant arguments against FRAUWALLNER's assumption that the division of *sambandha* into different types as taught in the *VS* is influenced by Vṛṣagaṇa, cf. SCHUSTER, *l. c.*, p. 368.
59. *L. c.*, (cf. fn. 28), p. 79.
60. *Cf.* above fn. 29.
61. *L. c.*, p. 80.–Note that FRAUWALLNER's hypothesis regarding the relative chronology of Candramati and Praśastapāda is questioned by B. K. MATILAL, *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature* (*A History of Indian Literature*, ed. by J. GONDA, VI,2), Wiesbaden, 1977, pp. 63 ff.

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A.D.". In a footnote he adds the remark that "this bipartition is met with in the *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* only at two points (II, 1,15-17 and III, 2,6-8)", which he, however, considers to be "later additions".

As regards the last three *sūtras*—2.1.15-17 are of no importance in this respect since they were modelled on 3.2.6-8—to account for the objections raised here by a Buddhist opponent, it is not necessary to assume the influence of Vṛṣagaṇa or Diṅnāga. The arguments brought forward in these sūtras against the Vaiśeṣika proof for the existence of the soul (*ātman*) can have been likewise inspired by Ch'ing-mu[62]; that is to say, similar objections were raised already by earlier Buddhist thinkers.

As to the Vaiśeṣika theory of inference as a whole, FRAUWALLNER speaks only of "beginnings"[63] of such a theory in the *VS* "which due to their complex stratification call for a separate discussion". Since unfortunately he could no longer deal with these (in fact intricate) problems, his own interpretation of *VS* 2.1.8-10 is unknown. Yet, from his remark just quoted it can be inferred that he, too, was of the opinion that on the whole the Vaiśeṣika inference theories attest to a stage in the development of reflexion on logical problems that can hardly be called advanced. In any case, this much becomes highly probale : FRAUWALLNER did not, apparently, consider even privately, as it were, an influence of Vṛṣagaṇa's teaching upon *VS* 2.1.8-10, not to speak of indicating or asserting it.

3.1. Returning now to our starting point, viz., the term *adṛṣṭa* as used in the *VS*, the first result to be noted is that in *VS* 2.1.10 *adṛṣṭa* is used as an expression that stands in contradistinction to *dṛṣṭa* in the same *sūtra*. Since it is not prior to 2.1.11 that an argument is brought forward to prove that wind is a material 'substance', *adṛṣṭa* and perhaps also *dṛṣṭa* in 2.1.10 have to be taken to refer to entities in general, i.e., of which, in the context, it has not yet been decided as to which category they belong. Therefore one cannot but draw the conclusion that the *VS*, at least at some point of its development, makes the basic distinction between elements of reality that can in principle be perceived and others

62. *Cf.* the book of H. UI (noted in fn. 28), pp. 86 ff., as well as M. WALLESER, *Die buddhistische Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. 3. *Teil* : *Die mittlere Lehre des Nāgārjuna*. . . ., Heidelberg, 1912, p, 106 f.

63. *L. c.* (*cf.* fn. 28), fn. 30, p. 79.

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that by their nature lie beyond the range of (normal human) perception; and, to be sure, there is no evidence whatsoever nor even the least likelihood that this bipartition was originally connected with ethical and retributive conceptions.

This conclusion does not, of course, necessararily imply that *adṛṣṭa* when used as a prior member of the compound *adṛṣṭakārita* must have the meaning "something unperceived or imperceptible"; yet, I think, the assumption has become much more likely that the *VS* has indeed originally accounted for strange and otherwise unexplicable phenomena by resorting to a cause "not perceived or unperceivable", i.e., a cause that could not be determined and for that very reason also not classified as regards the category to which it belongs.

In view of THAKUR's interpretation of the term, however, it seems advisable to try to decide also whether *adṛṣṭa* in such contexts is used in the sense of "not perceived"—which might amount to "not yet perceived [by me, but, I trust, perceptible to later philosophers]"—or, on the contrary, in the sense of "not perceivable, i.e., because by its nature it lies outside the range of perception".

There is strong evidence for the latter possibility; for, this *dṛṣṭa-adṛṣṭa* dichotomy reminds one of the similar distinction drawn by Mīmāṃsakas and Dharmaśāstrins between acts that have a visible motive or purpose and those to which an unseen or spiritual purpose is to be ascribed[64]. Yet, there is another parallel, in terms of chronology and historical relation even closer, namely *NS* 1.1.8 : *sa (śabdaḥ) dvividho dṛṣṭādṛṣṭārthatvāt*. Pakṣilavāmin's explanation can be relied on in this case; for he says[65] : *yasyeha dṛśyate'rthaḥ sa dṛṣṭārthaḥ/yasyāmutra pratīyate so' dṛṣṭārthaḥ/evam ṛṣilaukikavākyānāṃ vibhāga iti/*. The *NS*'s distinction, though referring to *śabda* as a means of valid cognition, is tantamount to a dichotomy of things perceptible and things imperceptible here, i. e. in this world of ours. Therefore, the assumption seems to be warranted that it is this very distinction, albeit conceived of as a general one, the author (s) of the *VS* originally had in mind.

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64. On which *cf.* P.V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra. . . .*, Vol. III, 2nd ed; Poona, 1973, p. 836 ff.
65. *Nyāyasūtra of Gautama, A System of Indian Logic*, ed. by G. JHA (*POS* 58), Poona 1939, p. 21.

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3.2. HALBFASS' hypothesis can thus be supported by an additional philological argument and may, hence, be said to gain still greater likelihood. Therefore, one will not rest satisfied with the repeated remark of FRAUWALLNER's that[66] "the two qualities, merit (*dharmaḥ*) and demerit (*adharmaḥ*), are frequently subsumed under the name 'invisible' (*adṛṣṭam*)". Certainly this is true; for, e. g., Praśastapāda, while interpreting the conjunction *ca* in *VS* 1.1.5 as intending the inclusion of seven other qualitites[67], actually enumerates only six, i. e., substitutes the term *adṛṣṭa* for *dharma* and *adharma* and only by stating the final total to be "*saptaiva*" does he make it clear that *adṛṣṭa* is used by him as a comprehensive term for the two. However, what FRAUWALLNER does is obviously not admissible; that is, one may not deduce from an observation of the corresponding usage in Praśastapāda and other later Vaiśeṣika authors that *adṛṣṭa* as used in the *VS* has but one conceptually unitary meaning. Likewise abortive is THAKUR's attempt to gainsay the fact that *adṛṣṭa* is introduced into the *VS* "to ensure the retributive efficacy of actions which have a ritual and moral significance".[68]

Yet, it is, of course, not enough just to state that *adṛṣṭa* used in such contexts comprises both the concepts of *dharma* and *adharma*; instead, one has to pose the question when and why this use of the word *adṛṣṭa* was introduced into the *VS*. As to this, in the light of the observations and considerations of HALBFASS, the assumption suggests itself that this happened when the "soteriological re-orientation" of the Vaiśeṣika system took place. That is, by expanding the concept *adṛṣṭa* from its older use in physical and cosmological contexts in such a manner that it now became a wider concept also covering both *dharma* and *adharma*, an outwardly seamless connection between two highly different ranges of understanding was established, and two different sets of sūtras were bound together superficially, merely by the identity of a word.

In view of the palpable difficulties even the "great systematizer" Praśastapāda had in trying to keep to an original conceptual unity, one

66. *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Bd. II, Salzburg, 1956, pp. 141 and 235 [98 and 169].
67. *Prasāstapādabhāṣya* (*Padārthadharmasaṇgraha*) with Commentary *Nyāyakandali* of Śrīdharabhaṭṭa (*Gaṅgānātha-Jhā-Granthamālā* 1), Varanasi, 1963, p. 27: *caśabdasamuccitāś ca gurutva-dravatva-sneha-saṁskāra-adṛṣṭa-śabdāḥ saptaivety evaṁ caturviṁśatir guṇāḥ*|
68. Quoted from HALBFASS, *l. c.* (fn. 1), p. 286.

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cannot simply take for granted that this development was a conscious one. It is likewise possible that we have to do here with a phenomenon of terminological interference that become possible because of the lack of vigilance when the term *adṛṣṭa—dharma* and *adharma*—was taken over by Vaiśeṣikas and incorporated into the text of the *VS*.

It should be noted that apart from *VS* 5.2.19, i.e., a *sūtra* that for other reasons, too, seems to be of later origin[69], the use of *adṛṣṭa—dharma* and *adharma*—is confined to the second *āhnika* of *adhyāya* VI. While in the *VS* itself no attempt is made to reconcile the disparate usages of the word, the indigenous commentators did feel the need for an explanation; for to them the internal consistence and hence also the terminological unity of the *mūla* text was a matter of course. That in reality the whole of *adhyāya* VI of the *VS* was inserted only later is not something they could have thought of or would have admitted. However, it is precisely this what I hope to show in a study still under preparation.[70]

69. *Cf.* my contribution to the *Felicitation Volume for J. W. de Jong.*
70. Viz. that already referred to above in fn. 17.

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K. D. Bharadwaj, New Delhi :

# THE PAÑCARĀTRA

## (A Tantra on the Worship of Lord Viṣṇu)

The religious data contained in the scriptures do not relate exclusively to Viṣṇu. They exhibit reverence for, and the supremacy of, other gods also. But there is a literature called the *Pañcarātra* which seeks to establish the exclusive supremacy of Viṣṇu, and dwells upon devotion to Him alone. As the term *'pañcarātra'* is not widely known, it may be necessary to make a few observations about it.

The word *'pañcarātra'* is pretty old and we find it mentioned for the first time in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, where it is stated that the Supreme Puruṣa, Nārāyaṇa, desired in ages gone-by to surpass all beings and to become all, through *Puruṣamedha*, which was otherwise called the *Pañcarātra*[1]. The word *'pañcarātra'* was first used as an adjective of *Puruṣamedha* and then came to be used as an independent word. It means a sacrifice which is to be accomplished in five successive nights and in the following order :—*Agniṣṭoma*, then *Ukthya*, then *Atirātra*, then *Ukthya* once again, and lastly *Agniṣṭoma* for the second time. It thus starts with, and terminates in, Agniṣṭoma. Hence it was called *'Ubhayato jyoti'*. It is also called *'Ubhayata ukthya'* inasmuch as *Ukthya* is to be performed twice. *Ukthya* takes more time than *Agniṣṭoma*; and *Atirātra* occupies a still greater time. The duration gradually increases from the first to the third day, but gradually decreases from the fourth to the fifth day. Hence, it is called *'Yavamadhya'*, i. e., that which resembles a grain of barley,[2] whose middle portion is bigger than the remaining ones. *Puruṣamedha* and *Pañcarātra* were synonymous, and the sacrifice was performed with the chanting of the *Puruṣa-Sūkta*.

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1. स एतं पुरुषमेधं पञ्चरात्रं यज्ञक्रतुमपश्यत्तमाहरत्तेनायजत तेनेष्ट्वात्यतिष्ठत्सर्वाणि भूतानीदं सर्वं समभवत् ।

(शतपथब्राह्मणम्)

2. यवमध्यः पञ्चरात्रो भवति । (शतपथब्राह्मणम्)

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The men to be sacrificed were praised with the chanting of the hymn in the *Puruṣamedha*; and when the Brahmā priest eulogized Puruṣa or Nārāyaṇa, a voice came from above : "O embodied man, do not make these men stand by fire for sacrifice. In case you will, man will eat man".[3] On hearing this celestial voice the men-animals were set free,[4] and oblations of clarified butter were poured into the fire for appeasing Brahma, Kṣatra, Marut and Tapas (representing the four castes).[5]

It is thus clear that the *Puruṣamedha* sacrifice did not demand any killing of life. Even today the followers of the *Pañcarātra* sect, i. e , the Vaiṣṇavas abstain from destroying life in their rituals. The term '*Pañcarātra*' has, however, been interpreted in various other ways as shown below :—

1. *Pañcarātra* is that in whose presence the five scriptures of *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga*, *Bauddha*, *Ārhata* and *Kapila* lose their lustre.[6]

2. Just as night *(rātri)* comes to an end *(pañcatva)* at sunrise, similarly other scriptures come to an end at the rise of *Pañcarātra*.[7]

3. The word '*rātra*' signifies knowledge, which is of five types, so that *Pañcarātra* is the name of the scripture which deals with five types of knowledge.[8]

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3. पुरुष मा सन्तिष्ठिपो यदि संस्थापयिष्यसि पुरुष एव पुरुषमत्स्यति ।
(शतपथब्राह्मणम्)

4. पर्यग्निकृताः पशवो बभूवुरसंज्ञप्ताः । (शतपथब्राह्मणम्)

5. तद्दैवत्या आहुतीरजुहोत् । आज्येत् जुहोति तेजो वा आज्यम् ।
(शतपथब्राह्मणम्)

6. पञ्चेतराणि शास्त्राणि रात्रीयन्ते महान्त्यपि ।
तत्सन्निधौ समाख्यासौ तेन लोके प्रवर्त्तते ॥
(पञ्चतन्त्रम्)

7. पञ्चत्वमथवा यद्वद् दीप्यमाने दिवाकरे ।
ऋच्छन्ति रात्रयस्तद्वदितराणि तदन्तिके ॥
(पञ्चतन्त्रम्)

8. रात्रं च ज्ञानवचनं ज्ञानं पञ्चविधं स्मृतम् ।
तेनेदं पञ्चरात्रं च प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥
(नारदपञ्चरात्रम्)

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4. '*Rātra*' means nescience and '*pañca*' means destruction. Hence the scripture which destroys nescience is called *Pañcarātra*.[9]

5. *Pañcarātra* is the scripture which admits the reality of God in five aspects: transcendence, immanence, emanation, incarnation and the consecrated idols.[10]

6. *Pañcarātra* is the scripture which teaches that on the realization of God, five nights, meaning the functions of the fiive physical senses of the embodied soul, are destroyed.[11]

7. *Pañcarātra* is so called because it embodies the five lectures delivered by Nārāyaṇa in five nights to Ananta, Garuḍa, Viṣvaksena, Brahmā and Rudra.[12]

8. *Pañcarātra* is that scripture which the Lord taught separately to Śāṇḍilya, Aupagāyana, Mauñjyāyana, Kauśika and Bharadvāja, who are digits of His five weapons.[13]

*Pañcarātra* is not only of Vedic origin, but is also called the *Ekāyana Veda*, i. e., a Veda where the deity is said to be the only shelter for

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9. रात्रिरज्ञानमित्युक्तं पञ्चेत्यज्ञाननाशकम् ।

(श्रीप्रश्नसंहिता)

10. तत्परव्यूहविभवं स्वभावादिनिरूपणम् ।
पञ्चरात्राह्वयं तन्त्रं मोक्षैकफललक्षणम् ॥

(अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता)

11. अवाप्य तु परं तेजो यत्रैताः पञ्च रात्रयः ।
नश्यन्ति पञ्चरात्रं तत्सर्वाज्ञानविनाशनम् ॥

(श्रीविष्णुसंहिता)

12. पञ्चापि पृथगेकैकं दिवारात्रं जगत्प्रभुः ।
अध्यापयामास यतस्ततस्तन्मुनिपुङ्गवाः ।
शास्त्रं सर्वजनैर्लोके पञ्चरात्रमितीर्यते ॥

(ईश्वरसंहिता)

13, पञ्चायुधांशास्ते पञ्च शाण्डिल्यश्चौपगायनः ।
मौञ्ज्यायनः कौशिकश्च भारद्वाजश्च योगिनः ॥

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devotees.[14] The great sage Śāṇḍilya learnt it from Saṅkarṣaṇa at the end of *Dvāpara* and the beginning of *Kali*, and then taught it to Sumantu, Bhṛgu, Jaimini, Aupagāyana and Mauñjyāyana.

The *Pañcarātra* deals with the following subjects :—

(a) philosophical theory,

(b) meditation,

(c) temple architecture and iconography, and

(d) certain other matters peculiar to the sect.

The *Mahābhārata* has termed *Pañcarātra* as *Mahopaniṣad* or the great *Upaniṣad*, and indicates that the *Pañcarātra* literature was held in high esteem in ancient times.[15] It is said to have been taught by Nārāyaṇa Himself. Apart from the name '*Mahopaniṣad*', other names e. g., *Śāstra, Tantra, Āgama* and *Saṁhitā* are also given to *Pañcarātra*. Thus we have such titles as *Pañcarātra-Śāstra*, *Pañcarātra-Tantra*, *Pañcarātra-Āgama* and *Pañcarātra-Saṁhitā*.

Numerous books were written on this branch of Vaiṣṇava literature, and they received distinctive names after their authors. *Nārada-Pañcarātra* contains, for instance, a reference to seven *Pañcarātras* as *Brāhma*, *Śaiva*, *Kaumāra, Vāsiṣṭha, Kāpila*, *Gautamīya* and *Nārada*.[16] *Agni-Purāṇa* mentions twenty-five such names.[17]

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14. (अ) मोक्षायनाय वै पन्था एतदन्यो न विद्यते ।
तस्मादेकायनं नाम प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ।।

(ईश्वरसंहिता)

(आ) यस्मिन्नेको मोक्षमार्गो वेदः प्रोक्तः सनातनः ।
मदाराधनरूपेण तस्मादेकायनं भवेत् ।।

(श्रीप्रश्नसंहिता)

For reference from 6 to14 vide article xxv of *JRAS*, 1911).

15. इदं महोपनिषदं चतुर्वेदसमन्वितम् ।।
(श्रीभाष्ये २.२.४२ उद्धृतं महाभारतवचनम्) ।।

16. ब्राह्मं शैवं च कौमारं वासिष्ठं कापिलं परम् ।
गौतमीयं नारदीयमिदं सप्तविधं स्मृतम् ।।

(नारदपञ्चरात्रम्)

17. अग्निपुराणम्, अध्यायः ३९

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The literature on *Pañcarātra* increased from more to more and came to include as many as about two hundred books. But one hundred and eight *Pañcarātra Saṁhitās* are held to be canonical.

Like the *Purāṇas*, the *Pañcarātra* is also divided into three sections respectively characterized as Sattvic, Rajasic and Tamasic. The *Saṁhitās* taught by the Deity are called Divine. The *Sāttvata-Saṁhitā*, the *Jayākhya-Saṁhitā* and the *Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā* are the best of the one hundred and eight books.[18] The *Īśvara-Saṁhitā*, the *Padma-Saṁhitā* and the *Parameśvara-Saṁhitā* are respectively expositions of the three above-mentioned *Saṁhitās*, which, though separately compiled, form one complete scripture. Ācārya Yāmuna, Rāmānuja's grand-preceptor, proved the authoritativeness of the *Pañcarātra* literature in his *Āgama-Prāmāṇya*. Later on, Rāmānuja attempted to do the same in his commentary on the *Brahma-Sūtras* II. ii. 41 and 42,[19] where he has quoted from the *Sāttvata*, *Pauṣkara* and *Parama-Saṁhitās*. Still later Veṅkaṭanātha also made an effort to prove the authority of the *Pañcarātra*, in his *Pañcarātra Rakṣā*.[20] The *Pañcarātra* literature is, however, held to be sacred and authoritative by all the Vaiṣṇavas. Only a few of the *Saṁhitās* have so far been published.

The need of initiation to the life of devotion which Vaiṣṇavaism has felt very strongly should be conceived in a historical background. The investiture of a young body with the sacred thread was in ancient times regarded so holy that it acquired the significance of his second birth.[21] Similarly, the initiation of a person at a comparatively advanced age to a sacrifice was considered to be his third birth.[22] Those

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18. सात्त्वतं पौष्करं चैव जयाख्यं तन्त्रमुत्तमम् ।
रत्नत्रयमिति ख्यातम्········ ॥

19. श्रुतिसिद्धस्यैवाश्रितवात्सल्यनिमित्तस्वेच्छाविग्रहसङ्ग्रहरूपजन्मनोभिधानात्तदभिधायिशास्त्रप्रामाण्यस्याप्रतिषेधः । ·····अतः स भगवान्·····तदर्थयाथात्म्यावबोधि पञ्चरात्रं शास्त्रं स्वयमेव निरममीतेति निरवद्यम् । (श्रीभाष्यम् २.२.४२)

20. अतः कृत्स्नं पाञ्चरात्रं प्रमाणम् । (श्रीपाञ्चरात्ररक्षा, पृष्ठम् ४३)

21. मातुर्यदग्रे जायन्ते द्वितीयं मौञ्जिबन्धनात् ।
मातुरग्रेधिजननं द्वितीय मौञ्जिबन्धने ॥

22. तृतीयं यज्ञदीक्षायां द्विजस्य श्रुतिनोदनात् ।
(मनुस्मृतिः २.१६९)

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who adored Viṣṇu had also to undergo initiation at the *Pañcarātra* sacrifice. Admission of deserving people to the order of Vaiṣṇavaism was in vogue in the time of the old *Vaidika Dīkṣā* (initiation). The main object of initiation is, indeed, the purification of individual, which should be the pre-condition of his admission to a religious order. A piece of iron covered with dust requires thorough cleansing before it is magnetized. Similarly, the finite soul needs purification before it can be God-conscious. According to the *Pañcarātra* school, the preceptor purifies the disciple, and the ceremony of purification comprises the following :—

(a) The individual should bear on his shoulders the Deity's symbols.

(b) He should further put a special mark on his forehead.

(c) He should receive a devotional name,

(d) and *mantras*,

(e) and procure an image of the Deity.[23]

The religious aspirant should devote all his time to the worship of God in the following way :—

The first item of worship is *Abhigamana* or approach to the sacred image of the Deity in a temple or at home. This should precede the performance of the morning duties such as ablution[24] and oblation.

The second is *Upadāna* or collection and arrangement of the articles needed for worship, e. g., leaves, flowers, fruits and water.

The third is *Ijya* or service, which means the adoration of the Deity in five, ten, sixteen or more formal ways *(Upacāra)*.[25] According to Rāmānuja, service to God consists in offering all kinds of pleasing objects

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23. तापः पुण्ड्रं तथा नाम मन्त्रो यागश्च पञ्चमः ।
अमी हि पञ्च संस्काराः परमैकान्तिहेतवः ॥

24. स्नानपूर्वाः क्रियाः सर्वा यतः सम्यक् फलप्रदाः ।
तस्मात् स्नानं पुरा कुर्याद् य इच्छेच्छ्रेय आत्मनः ॥
(जयाख्यसंहिता, ६. ७०)

25. (अ) आद्ययाऽऽवाहयेद् देवमृचा तु पुरुषोत्तमम्-इत्यादि ।
(बृहत्पाराशरसंहिता)
(आ) उपचारान्तराणामपि सर्वेषामेते षोडश प्रधानतमाः ।
(पाञ्चरात्ररक्षा, पृष्ठम् ५४)

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to God.[26] Some of these things are externally pleasing, e. g., the waving of lamps and fanning; some are tactually pleasing, e. g., garlanding and smearing with sandal-paste; and some are pleasing through assimilation, e. g., fruits and milk.

The fourth is *Svādhyāya* or study which consists in counting the divine names, chanting the holy hymns or reciting the religious texts.

The fifth is *Yoga* or concentration of mind on the Deity.

These five items should be performed in the five divisions of the day. The *Jayākhya-Saṁhitā* has given the details of this worship.[27] One who spends his time in worship of this kind is called a *Pāñcakālika*, i. e., a five-time worshipper. However, the first three items are to be performed before meals. The *Svādhyāya* should be done in the afternoon and the *Yoga* during the night.[28] The taking of meals is a part of the worship, and similarly a six-hour sleep is held to be a part of the *Yoga*.[29]

Veṇkaṭanātha says in his *Pāñcarātra-Rakṣā* that, according to certain *Saṁhitās*, study and meditation should precede the meals.[30] The *Bhara-*

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26. औपचारिकसांस्पर्शिकाध्यवहारिकादिसकलभोगप्रदानरूपो यागः । (गीतायां । रामानुजभाष्यम् ९.३४)

27. एकस्यैव हि कालस्य वासरीयस्य नारद ।
आप्रभातं निशान्तं वै पञ्चधा परिकल्पना ॥
(जयाख्यसंहिता)

28. श्रवणं चिन्तनं व्याख्या ततः पाठसमन्विता ।
स्वाध्यायसंज्ञं तद् विद्धि कालांशं मुनिसत्तम ॥
दिवावसाने सम्प्राप्ते पूजां कृत्वा समभ्यसेत् ।
योगं निशावसाने च विश्रमैरन्तरीकृतम् ॥
पञ्चमो योगसंज्ञोऽसौ कालांशो ब्रह्मसिद्धिदः ॥
(जयाख्यसंहितावचनं पाञ्चरात्ररक्षायामुद्धृतम्, पृष्ठम् ४८)

29. करिष्यमाणयोगोपकरणभूतस्य करणवर्गस्य विश्रान्तये स्वयमुपनमन्तीं निद्रां न निवारयेत् ।
(पाञ्चरात्ररक्षा, पृष्ठम् १६६)

30. एतौ च स्वाध्याययोगावाह्निकानुयागात् पूर्वमेव केषुचित् संहिताविशेषेपु समाहृत्योपदिश्येते ।
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*dvāja-Saṁhitā* holds that a man is *Pāñcarātrika* if he performs all the five rites in an abbreviated form even once a day.[31] Of the five items, *Ijyā* is, however, the most important inasmuch as it includes the remaining four.[32] Worship is not possible unless one approaches an image, so that it comprises *Abhigamana*. Again, since there cannot be any worship without flowers, fruits, etc., the *Upādāna* is likewise involved. The uttering of the *mantras (Svādhyāya)* is equally essential to worship. Lastly, the worship involves mental concentration or *Yoga*.

Devotion expressed through formal image-worship is a sort of aesthetic approach to God. A nicely decorated niche where the idol is placed conveys to the devotee the architectural beauty of a palace. A green leaf of the holy basil *(Tulasī)* is to him the symbol of the grandeur of the world's greenery. A tiny jasmine flower offered by him to the Deity represents the entire flora. The ringing of the little bell at the time of worship is but a humble simplification of instrumental music. Each line in a devotional lay conveys the idea of large-scale vocal music. The waving lamp is only a symbol of the revolving luminary planets. A dot of sandal-paste mixed with camphor, saffron and musk is a sign of most refined luxury. A small grape offered to the Deity is suggestive of the choicest food. A devotee offers all these articles of exquisite beauty to the Most Beautiful.

31. एवं विद्वानेकदापि कुर्वन् सन् पाञ्चकालिकः ।

(भारद्वाजसंहिता)

32. कृतं भवति वा सर्वमिज्ययैव हि केवलम् ।

(भारद्वाजसंहिता)

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U. N. DHAL, Bhubaneswar :

# VIRAJĀ-KṢETRA—A SĀKTA PĪṬHA

Virajā Kṣetra[1] at Yajapura on the river Vaitaraṇī in the Cuttack District, Orissa, is a place of pilgrimage. Like Gayā Kṣetra, or others, it is five Krośas in extent. The Kṣetra is named after the goddess Virajā, its presiding deity. The old image of the goddess recovered and installed in the present sanctum in semi-broken form is a two-handed image of Mahiṣamardinī type. She holds the tail of the buffalo demon in one hand and pierces it by the spear held in the other. The icon dates back to the Pre-Gupta age.[2] Besides Virajā, there are Saptamātṛkās, 'Seven Mothers', worshipped on the bank of the river Vaitaraṇī, sixty four yoginīs and Aṣṭacaṇḍikās spread inside the Kṣetra, which is triangular in form. The Caṇḍikās are named as Śānteśvarī, Nīlākṣī, Uttareśvarī, Bhagavatī, Koṭaviśvarī, Bhīmāvatī, Kroḍavāsinī and Siddheśvarī. Thus the Kṣetra is adorned by goddesses in different manifest form.

In the *Tīrthayātrā* section of the *Āraṇyakaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*[3] (3. 80-83) in response to Bhīṣma's querry, Pulastya gives a long and exhaustive list of *tīrthas* in India sacred to different deities like Śiva, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Kārttikeya, Devī, etc. Among these are included the prominent *tīrthas* like Bhīmāsthāna, Madhuvatī-Kanyātīrtha, Śākambharī, Sundarikātīrtha, Udyantaparvata, Gaurīparvata, Śrīparvata and Virajā Kṣetra sacred to the mother goddess.

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1. For further reference on Virajā Kṣetra, refer to my article, "Virajā Kṣetra Māhātmya of Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa—A Survey", *Purāṇa*, vol. XIX, no. 2 (July, 1977) pp. 292-304; *cf.* Palmleaf Manuscript no. P/24; *cf. Virajā Kṣetra Māhātmya* in the O. G. M. L., Bhubaneswar.
2. R. P. CHANDA, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 44, *Exploration in Orissa*, Calcutta, 1930, p. 4.
3. *Mahābhārata*, vol 3, ed. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, Poona, 1942. It may be taken for granted that the text kernel of the *Tīrthayātrā* portion of the *Mahābhārata* was composed earlier than the 4th century A. D. Also *cf.* D. C. SIRCAR, *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, 2nd revised edition, Delhi, 1973, p. 8; *cf.* M. V. VAIDYA, "Tīrtha-yātrā in the Āraṇyaka Parvan and the Padma Purāṇa."

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According to ancient religious traditions there are mainly four sacred Kṣetras in Orissa. They are known as Brahma Kṣetra, Śāmbhava Kṣetra, Vaiṣṇava Kṣetra and Saura Kṣetra and are located at Yajapura, Bhubaneswar, Puri and Koṇārka respectively. The Viṣṇuites name them after the different 'emblems and attributes' of Viṣṇu. Thus, the Kṣetras are designated as Śaṅkha Kṣetra at Puri, Cakra Kṣetra at Bhubaneswar, Padma Kṣetra at Koṇārka and Gadā Kṣetra at Yajapura. Just as the devoted Vaiṣṇavas imprint their body with the emblems and attributes of Viṣṇu for religious sanctity, similarly these Kṣetras were known after the emblems and attributes of Viṣṇu and are believed to be the sacred places of pilgrimage for the adherents of Viṣṇu. Later, some Viṣṇuite deities were installed in each Kṣetra for their purpose. Accordingly, we come across Varāha, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, in the Gadā Kṣetra at Yajapura, which was visited by the great Vaiṣṇava saint Caitanya during his visit to Orissa. Devout Vaiṣṇavas regard Ananta-Vāsudeva as the presiding deity of the Cakra Kṣetra at Bhubaneswar and Śiva came to the scene later. Puruṣottama-Viṣṇu adorns the Saṅkha Kṣetra at Puri. Arka, 'the Sun' the progenitor of Viṣṇu, is regarded as the sole deity of Padma Kṣetra at Koṇārka. Subsequently, Tulası Kṣetra at Kendrapara, Cuttack district, was added to the list of Vaiṣṇava Kṣetras and Baladeva glorifies the Kṣetra as its tutelary deity.

The author of *Kapila Saṁhitā*[4] (circa 13th century A.D.) lays down the four principal deities—*Kṛṣṇa-Arka-Pārvatī-Hara*—as the guardian deities of the above Kṣetras and names the Kṣetras after them. Accordingly Yajapura is well-known as Pārvatı-Kṣetra, Puri as Kṛṣṇa-Kṣetra, Koṇārka as Arka-Kṣetra, and besides Bhubaneswar, the text adds Kapilasa in the Dhenkanal District, as the Hara Kṣetra. Thus Virajā Kṣetra is variously known as Brāhma-Kṣetra, as it was founded by Brahmā after sacrifice, Gadā Kṣetra according to Viṣṇuite tradition, and above all as Pārvatī, in the form of Virajā, is the premier deity of the Kṣetra, it is know as Pārvatı Kṣetra or Virajā Kṣetra. In the *Mahābhārata* it was known as Virajā tırtha. As the mother-goddess shapes the destiny of the Kṣetra, it is venerated as a Śāktapıṭha or a seat of worship of the mother-goddess. So it is recommended as a place of pilgrimage for the devout followers of Śakti or the great mother.

The terms like Kṣetra, Tırtha and Pīṭha need elucidation for clear understanding. Broadly speaking Kṣetra-'field' presupposes an area or

4. *Kapila Saṁhitā*, ed. R. K. Basu, Cuttack, 1928, *Adhyāya* 3. 1.

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region named after a deity, such as Bhāskara-Kṣetra, Puruṣottama-Kṣetra, Pārvatī-Kṣetra or Virajā-Kṣetra etc.; sometimes in view of the sacredness of the place it is known as Kṣetra, like Vārāṇasī Kṣetra, Kāmarūpa Kṣetra etc. Tīrtha-'ford' points to a sacred place by visiting which one expiates one's sins—*tarati pāpādikam yasmāt* (*Śabdakalpadruma*) and is derived from the root *tṛ*-'to cross' by adding *thuk*. From the study of the four Adhyāyas of the *Mahābhārata* and allied texts, which depict clearly different *tīrthas* of India, it is evident that each and every tīrtha is situated on the bank of a river or pond, by taking a dip into which one washes away one's sins and attains merits of different kinds. Like other tīrthas, Virajā tīrtha is situated on the bank of the river Vaitaraṇī. A visit to the goddess Virajā after a bath in the river is supposed to remove sins. Pīṭha connotes 'a seat, a place to sit on' and can be deduced from the root *piṭh* with the addition of *ghañ*. Pīṭha refers to a place where a Sādhaka of the deity attained Siddhi through austerities and has established the deity. So the Siddha Pīṭha is named after the deity-such as Vaiṣṇava Pīṭha, Śaiva Pīṭha, Gāṇapatya Pīṭha etc.

The Buddhist tradition as enunciated in the *Catuṣpīṭha Tantra*, a Sahajayāna text, speaks of the Pīṭha as the place of intercourse of Vajrasattva with Yoginīs like Prajñāpāramitā and others to attain eternal bliss through sexual pleasure. Those Pīṭhas are four in number, namely, Ātmapīṭha, Parāpīṭha, Yogapīṭha and Guhyapīṭha.[5] These holy places of the past were recognised as Pīṭhas—according to their tradition. Slowly the Pīṭha came to be known as the seat of the mother-goddess. Each Pīṭha is followed by a Pīṭhadevī (form of the goddess), a Kṣetrādhīśa or Bhairava (a form of Śiva) and the particular limbs of the goddess related to it. The above list of Śākta Pīṭhas in the *Mahābhārata* indicates the presence of places sacred to the mother-goddess or where the mother-goddess in some form or other was duly adored. With the evolution of the legend of *Dakṣayajña vidhvaṁśana*,[6] the various limbs of Satī were linked with different Śākta Pīṭhas. The Pīṭhas like Bhīmāsthāna, Udyanta Parvata, Gaurīśekhara, Śrīparvata, Virajā tīrtha or Virajā Pīṭha etc. mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* were associated with different limbs of the mother-goddess. The widespread idea of relating different limbs with different Pīṭhas is peculiar to the mother-goddess.

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5. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
6. For a discussion on *Dakṣayajña-vidhvaṁśana* episode refer to the article of M. M. Pathak, in the *Purāṇa*, vol. XX, no. 2 (July 1978), pp. 204-223.

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The number of Śākta Pīṭhas grew through the ages and their account is very well incorporated into the body of various Tantric texts. The *Hevajra Tantra*[7], a Buddhist work of the 8th century A.D., enumerates the following four regions as Pīṭhas : (1) Jālandhara, (2) Oḍiyāna (Uḍḍiyāna in the Swat valley), (3) Pūrṇagiri and (4) Kāmarūpa (Assam). But the text is silent about Pīṭhadevīs and Bhairavas present there and the limb of the goddess associated to each Pīṭha. The *Kālikā Purāṇa*[8] (64. 43-48) following the above tradition mentions the four Pīṭhas and adds the name of the Pīṭhadevī and the Bhairava present there in the following manner—(1) Oḍra, the seat of the goddess Kātyāyanī and Jagannātha as Bhairava in the west, (2) Jālaśaila (Jālandhara), the seat of the goddess Caṇḍī and the god Mahādeva in the north, (3) Pūrṇaśaila (Pūrṇagiri), the seat of Pūrṇeśvarī and the god Mahānātha in the south and (4) Kāmarūpa, the seat of the goddess Kāmeśvarī and god Kāmeśvara in the east. But the text does not mention the limbs of the goddess associated with it. These four Pīṭhas represented the four cardinal points of the country and hint at the spread of the mother worship in different corners of the country. In another section of the same text (18. 42-51), we come across the name of seven Pīṭhas with Pīṭhadevīs and limbs of the goddess falling thereon. Thus : (1) Devīkūṭa having Mahābhāgā as Pīṭhadevī where the two feet of the goddess fell, (2) Uḍḍiyāna having Kātyāyanī as Pīṭhadevī, where the two thighs of the Devī fell, (3) Kāmagiri having Kāmākhyā as the Pīṭhadevī and being associated with the Yoni 'pudendum muliebre' of the goddess, (4) Dikkaravāsinī is the Pīṭhadevī of a locality on the eastern border of Kāmarūpa, where the navel fell, (5) Caṇḍī is the Pīṭhadevī of Jālandhara, where the two breasts of Satī fell, (6) Pūrṇeśvarī is the Pīṭhadevī of Pūrṇagiri, where the neck and the shoulders fell, and (7) Lalitakāntā is the Pīṭhadevī of a locality on the borders of Kāmarūpa, where the head of Satī fell The seven Pīṭhas include the four stated earlier. Śiva, in the form of Liṅga, remains as Bhairava in all of these Pīṭhas as a token of his deep love towards Satī.

The *Rudrayāmala Tantra*[9], which was composed earlier than 1052 A.D., mentions the ten principal Pīṭhas of the goddess including the four stated earlier : (1) Kāmarūpa, (2) Jālandhara, (3) Pūrṇagiri, (4) Oḍḍiyāna, (5) Vārāṇasī, (6) Jvalantī (Jvālāmukhī), (7) Māyāpurī (near Hardwar),

7. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
8. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, ed. B. Sastri, Varanasi, 1972.
9. *Rudrayāmala*, quoted in *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, pp. 17-28.

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(8) Madhupurī (Mathura), (9) Ayodhyā, and (10) Kāñcī. But the language of the text reveals that some other Śākta Pīṭhas of less importance were also known to the author.

A work entitled *Aṣṭādaśa Pītha*[10] said to have been written by some Śambhunātha Kar in 1806 A.D. under the guidance of an Utkala Brāhmaṇa, an inhabitant of Yajapura. The list of eighteen Pīṭhas includes Śrī-Śaila, Kolhāpura and Utkala and the Pīṭhadevīs associated with them are Bhramarāmbikā, Mahālakṣmī and Virajā respectively. The mention of these deities is very interesting, because these goddesses are still worshipped in the places mentioned against their names. In view of their inclusion in the earlier texts like the *Mahābhārata*, Śrī-Śaila and Virajā Pīṭha appear to be very old.

The *Kubjikā Tantra*,[11] which is supposed to be an early work enumerates forty-two Siddha Pīṭhas, some of which seem to represent actually the names of deities like Kamalā, Vimalā, Vārāhī, Virajā etc. as Pīṭhadevīs. Similar tradition is followed in the *Jñānārṇava Tantra* (Paṭala XIV, 1-12), *Tantrasāra*, *Tantracūḍāmaṇi*, etc., where the number of Pīṭhas has risen to fifty. In this list Virajā occupies the twenty-eighth position in order. The *Pīṭhanirṇaya* mentions fifty-one Pīṭhas alongwith Pīṭhadevīs and the Bhairavas accompanying them. It refers to the Virajā Pīṭha as :

*Utkale nābhideśaśca Virajākṣetramucyate* ।
*Vimalā sā mahādevī Jagannāthastu bhairavaḥ* ॥ 13

From the text it seems to be clear that Virajā was a Śākta Pīṭha from the hoary past and when the goddess Vimalā alongwith Jagannātha at Puri rose to prominence, this new tradition of Vimalā, as a Pīṭhadevī with Jagannātha-Viṣṇu as Kṣetrādhipa (Bhairava) was joined with the old Virajā Pīṭha to make it a complete one, as it is usual with our tradition that the old is always allowed to continue side by side with the new.

The redactor of the *Matsya Purāṇa*[12] enumerates hundred and eight Śākta Pīṭhas with Pīṭhadevīs. The *Padma Purāṇa*,[13] Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa, associates these Pīṭhas with the different manifestations of the Mother-goddess.

10. *Ibid*, pp. 18-19.
11. *Kubjikā Tantra* (*paṭala* VII) quoted in the *Vācaspatyam*, vol. V, p. 4342ff.
12. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar Bhattacharya, Calcutta, 1876, Adhyāya 13.
13. *Padma Purāṇa*, Part I, Gurumaṇḍala Granthamālā Series, no. 18, Calcutta, 1957, chapter 17, no. 199-220.

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Unlike these, the *Devī Bhāgavata*[14] speaks of the Pīṭhas associated with the limbs of Satī and the Pīṭhadevīs sprang up there, but there is no mention of specific limbs related to the Pīṭhas and the conception of relative Bhairavas followed. The redactors of these texts have skillfully neglected the Virajā Pīṭha altogether. It is just possible that by the time of the composition of the *urkern* of the text, the Śākta Pīṭhas had spread throughout the length and breadth of the country, but the Virajā Pīṭha was either losing its significance or the composer of the *text-kernel* from whom these redactors accepted their texts was not aware of the Pīṭha, and so it could not be included in the list of hundred and eight holy Pīṭhas sacred to the goddess

From the study of the origin and development of the number of Śākta Pīṭhas in India we have marked that the list of the Pīṭhas with the Pīṭhadevīs and the Bhairavas connected with each of them composed by different writers has a great deal of difference between them. It is clear that no recognised tradition casts any influence on them. The writers had very vague idea about some of the Pīṭhas and often depended on their own imagination. However, this much is certain that various mother-goddesses were worshipped in different parts of India from the very early time. As the geographical knowledge of the redactors of the *Mahābhārata* was not sound, they could not take note of all the Śākta tīrthas prevailing there. When the Brāhmaṇa immigrants, the harbingers of Vedic religion spread to the east, west and south-west of mid-India, their original home, they wanted to Brahmanize the people of these regions, who had predilection for the mother-goddess. As a result of synthesis of the Vedic and primitive or pre-Vedic tradition, the cult of the mother-goddess acquired an outstanding position and entered into the Buddhist and Brahmanical sects. The period of the wide-spread popularity of the mother-goddess could be ascertained in the 6th century A.D. and onwards.[15] Probably, when the concept of Śākta Pīṭhas became very popular, the authors of the cult tried to utilise the legend of Dakṣayajña-vidhvaṁśana to offer a mythological explanation of the origin of the Pīṭhas.

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14. *Devībhāgavata*, Ramtej Pandey, Kāśī, 1969, chapter 7, v. 30.
15. In his article on "Material Milieu on Tantricism", R. S. Sharma has very clearly and scientifically analysed the cause of the spread of the cult of the mother-goddess and its period of wide popularity. For further discussion on it see, *Indian Society : Historical Probings, In Memory of D. D. Kosambi*, Ed. R. S. Sharma and others, 2nd edition, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 175-189.

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The legend of Dakṣayajña-vidhvaṁśana is very old and dates back to the rise of the Guptas.[16] The earlier version of the legend is found in the *Brahma Purāṇa*[17] which states : Once Dakṣa-Prajāpati performed a sacrifice on a grand scale and invited all the gods and demi-gods except Śiva. When Umā, the consort of Śiva, came to know that Śiva was denied a share in the sacrifice, a privilege given to all other gods. she tried to know the cause of it. When Śiva was convinced of Dakṣa's hatred towards him, he wanted to punish Dakṣa by destroying his sacrifice. When the followers of Śiva and Umā destroyed the sacrifice of Dakṣa, he had to beg apology for it and was blessed by them. Here, neither Umā is described as the daughter of Dakṣa, nor is she mentioned to have sacrificed her life for the insult. The later modified version of the myth as found in the *Purāṇas* like *Matsya Purāṇa* (Adh. 13), *Padma Purāṇa, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa* (Adh. 5). and *Kūrma Purāṇa*[18] (Adh. 14), lays down : Satī (Dākṣāyaṇī), the daughter of Dakṣa-Prajāpati was the consort of Śiva. Though Dakṣa performed a grand sacrifice and invited all other gods and demi-gods, he ignored his son-in-law Śiva. When Satī approached her father and wanted to ascertain the cause of it, she was insulted by him. So Satī cursed her father by wishing that the sacrifice would be destroyed by Śiva. Saying thus she perished out of disappointment. When the news reached Śiva, he became furious and sent Vīrabhadra and others to destroy the sacrifice. When the sacrifice was destroyed by the agents of Śiva, Dakṣa begged for his pardon and when Śiva was assured of his reunion with Satī in the next birth and when his share in the sacrifice was also assured, he pardoned Dakṣa.

The *Brahma Purāṇa* is silent about the relation of Dakṣa with Umā and there is no mention of her death due to insult by Dakṣa. The present modified version of the text states that when the fact of Satī's death due to the insult by Dakṣa was brought to the notice of Śiva, he tried to destroy the sacrifice through his agents like Vīrabhadra and others. But this text tradition does not speak of Satī's body being cut into pieces by Viṣṇu to give rise to the number of Śākta Pīṭhas in India.

In the next stage of development, a new legend was engrafted to the old one only to explain the origin of the Śākta Pīṭhas. The texts like the

16. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
17. *Brahma Purāṇa*, Ed. H. N. Apte, *ASS* no. 28, Poona, 1895, *Adhyāya* 39.
18. *Kūrma Purāṇa*, (Cr. Edn.), Ed A. S. Gupta, All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, 1972.

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*Kālikā Purāṇa* (Adh. 16-18) *Devī Bhāgavata* (7, 30) and also some Tantras record the later development of myth thus : when Satī died by entering into the fire of sacrifice, Śiva ordered for the destruction of the sacrifice. Due to the bereavement of Śatī, Śiva could not be consoled; he carried Satī's dead body on his shoulder and wandered throughout the eastern region. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śani entered into the dead body of Satī to deprive Śiva of it. These gods inside her body cut her into pieces which fell on different places on earth. The two legs fell in Devīkūṭa, the two thighs fell in Uḍḍiyāna, *yoni* 'pudendum muliebre' in Kāmagiri at Kāmarūpa; the navel on the eastern border of Kāmarūpa, the two breasts in Jālandhara and the shoulders with the neck in Pūrṇagiri. Thus the area was elevated to the status of a Yājñikadeśa, 'place of Vedic tradition'. The places on which different parts of the Satī's body fell turned into Śākta Pīṭhas or Siddha Pīṭhas and the Pīṭhadevīs developed, together with a form of Śiva as Bhairava. In Devīkūṭa the Pīṭhadevī is known as Mahābhāgā, in Uḍḍiyāna as Kātyāyanī, in Kāmarūpa as Kāmākhyā, in the eastern border of Kāmarūpa as Dikkaravāsinī, in Jālandhara as Caṇḍī, in Pūrṇagiri as Pūrṇeśvari [19] etc. The *Tantrasāra*[20] (c. 17th century A.D.), while linking different limbs with different places, take into account the myth under consideration to justify the sanctity of the Pīṭhas. Though all the texts associate the limbs of Satī with different Pīṭhas, there is no uniformity in their identification.

The *Tantrasārā*, in the Pīṭhanirṇaya section, utilised the list of fifty Pīṭhas and the limbs associated with them.[21] The text also speaks of Virajā Pīṭha, where the right thigh of the goddess fell. The *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* of Mukundarāma, a Bengali work of the 16th century A.D., points to Yajapura as a Śākta Pīṭha where the right foot of the goddess fell. The name of the goddess of this pīṭha is mentioned as Virajā[22]. But other texts uniformly link the navel of Satī with Virajā. The *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, in describing fifty-one Pīṭhas, speaks of Virajā thus :

*Utkale nābhi-deśaśca Virajā-kṣetram-ucyate* // 13

The author of *Śivacarita* follows the same tradition and connects the navel of the goddess with Virajā. There is also a well, in the proximity of the

19. *Kālikā Purāṇa, Adhyāya* 18. 36ff.
20. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* of Mukundarāma, Ed. Sukumara Sen, Calcutta University, pp. 49-50 as quote uip the *Śākta Pīṭha*, p. 33, f. n. 3.

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goddess Virajā, which is known as Nābhikūpa or Nābhigayā, where Piṇḍas are offered to one's ancestors. People from all over India assemble here for the purpose whenever they find any opportunity to visit the place of pilgrimage. It appears that Virajā Pīṭha, like other Pīṭhas, had become a famous Śākta Pīṭha long before the Guptas came to power and the revised version of the legends of Dakṣa-yajña-vidhvaṁsana is a post-facto attempt to account for the sanctity of the place.

According to another tradition, the formation of Nābhigayā is related with the Gayāsura legend. It is well-known as Gayā-Māhātmya in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[23] recording the legend thus : In the *Śveta-varāha-kalpa*, Gaya was a very powerful demon and a devotee of Viṣṇu, who performed severe austerities for thousands of years on the Kolāhala mountain to be purer than all. The gods being terrified by his penance approached Viṣṇu, who accompanied by all other gods approached the demon and granted his desire. Then Gaya became so pure that whosoever touched his body got liberated and went to Viṣṇuloka. Thus Yamaloka became desolate. Then Yama in the company of Indra and other gods approached Brahmā, who sought the counsel of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu advised Brahmā to ask Gaya his pure body for the purpose of a sacrifice. Gaya immediately agreed and lay down on earth towards the south-west; his head fell on the Kolāhala mountain, his navel on Virajā mountain and his feet on the Mahendra mountain :

*ākrāntam daitya-jaṭharam dharmeṇa Virajādriṇā /*
*nabhikūpasamīpe tu devī yā Virajā sthitā /*
*tatra piṇḍādikam kṛtvā trisapta-kulamuddharet // 85*
*Mahendragiriṇā tasya kṛtau pādau suniścalau /*
*tatra piṇḍādikṛt sapta-kulānyuddharate naraḥ // 86*

*Vāyu Purāṇa* 2. 44, 85-86

Brahmā collected materials and performed sacrifice on Gaya's body with the help of mind-born *ṛtviks*. As Gaya's body was not stable, Brahmā requested Viṣṇu and other gods to make it stable. Viṣṇu wielded his Gadā and made it stable. When Gaya complained of his unnecessary torture, the gods asked him to choose a boon for it. Gaya chose that as long as the earth, mountains, the sun, the moon and stars lasted to let Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods remain in the three places, where his head,

23. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Shri Venkateshvarr Press, Bombay, Chapter 2, vv. 43-50.

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feet and navel had fallen and to let the places turn into *Pitṛ-tīrthas*. Thus Virajā-tīrtha became a *Pitṛ-tīrtha* where the navel of Gaya fell.

According to the local tradition current in Yajapura and illustrated through the text entitled *Virajā Kṣetra Māhātmya* quoted above it is stated that Brahmā performed a sacrifice to establish the Virajā Kṣetra. Probably these two traditions are confused together and were utilised to justify the origin of the kṣetra and Nābhigayā thereon.

Above all there are two legends, viz. one is to glorify Virajā Kṣetra as a Śākta Pīṭha and the other is to justify it as a Pitṛ Tīrtha and a Tīrtha of Vaiṣṇavite leaning. The navel of the goddess or the demon appears to be the common element in both. The legend which relates Virajā Kṣetra as a Śākta Pīṭha is the Dakṣayajñavidhvaṁsana, the *urkern* of which goes back to the pre-Gupta age. It is not exactly known when the myth was modified and the story of Satī's body falling in different places giving rise to different Pīṭhas was incorporated into it. But it may be assumed that such development could have taken place after the 6th or 7th century A.D. when Śakti-cult flourished in full swing. Similarly the Gayāmāhātmya can be assigned to the 7th and 10th centuries A.D.[24]

It may be taken for granted that originally goddess Virajā was worshipped in the Kṣetra before the Gupta age. During the Gupta age due to revival of Hinduism when various Buddhist centres were converted into the centre of Hinduism the Virajā Kṣetra was regarded as Śākta Pīṭha. Later on due to the rapid progress of Śakti cult the legend of Dakṣayajña-vidhvaṁsana took a new shape and the idea, that the parts of Devī's body falling in different places, gave rise to Śākta Pīṭhas, was evolved. This is Śāktaite redaction of the myth, which seems to take its present shape earlier than the Gayāsura legend. The Gayā Māhātmya is a Vaiṣṇavite myth and it shows the spread of Viṣṇuism in different parts of India. Thus by associating the navel of Gayāsura, a devout Vaiṣṇava, the place has been glorified and made a sacred place of pilgrimage of the Vaiṣṇavas also.

24. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. IV, Pune, 1953, p. 652.

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M. C. Joshi, New Delhi :

# ŚĀKTA-TANTRISM IN THE GUPTA AGE

The origin of the Tantrism associated with Śakti worship cannot be traced in exact terms. The Vedic tradition, no doubt, contains some references to the principle of some forms or Female Energy or the concept of *Vāk* which did serve as the base of historical *Tantrācara* but there is no substantial evidence that could be utilized to reconstruct older form of Tantric system.

It is in fact only during the Gupta period of Indian history that specific epigraphical references to Śākta Tantrism can be located. The Gangdhar inscription[1] of Viśvavarman dateable to A. D. 423-24 is a notable record from this standpoint which clearly states :

*Mātṛiṇāñca (pramu)dita ghanatyartha nihrādiṇīnām*
*tantrodbhūta-prabala-pavanodvartitāmbonidhīnām* |
... ...................*gatamidaṁ ḍākinī-saṁprakīrṇām*
*Veśmātyugraṁ nṛpatisaciva(s) kāryate puṇyahetoḥ* ||

An interesting point in this inscription is that Mayūrākṣaka, a minister of Viśvavarman, who caused a shrine of the Goddess associated with the Mātṛkās to be built, was primarily a devotee of Viṣṇu and he also constructed a Vaiṣṇava temple too, according to the same source.

The Chhoti Sadari inscription[2] of Rajasthan, dated A. D. 491, too preserves an important *dhyāna-śloka* relating to Durgā or Devī :

*Devī Jayatyasura-dhāraṇa-tīkṣṇa-śūlaḥ*
*prodgīrṇa-ratna-makuṭāṁśu-calapravāhaḥ* /
*siṁhograyukta-rathamāsthita-caṇḍaveśaḥ*
*bhrūbhaṅga-dṛṣṭi-vinipāta-niviṣṭa-roṣā* ||

1. Fleet, John Faithful, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III (reprinted), Varanasi, 1963, p. 76.
2. Sircar, D.C., *Epigraphia Indica*, XXX, p. 124.

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The above verse refers to the Goddess as riding a chariot drawn by terrible lions—a feature no longer available in her iconography.

The other Gupta inscription containing another important reference to Śāktism is the Bihar pillar inscription of Skandagupta[3] or Purugupta[4] which records, *inter-alia*, the erection of a sacrificial post or *yūpa* besides a group of temples in honour of the divine Mothers.

This epigraph, in addition to the Skanda and Mātṛs (mothers) refers to the house for Bhadrāryā which may be a name of the goddess Bhadrakālī or Bhadrā, often considered to be identical with Mahiṣamardinī. However, the term *'devaniketa-maṇḍalam'* appears to be significant, for it may refer to some kind of grouping of shrines of Skanda and the Mātṛkās which were arranged in a circular manner with a central temple of Bhadrakālī confronted by a *yūpa*, that is, the sacrificial pillar specifically meant for tying the animal to be sacrificed.

The third important record in the present context is not strictly a Gupta charter but the inscription of Maukharī ruler Anantavarman[5] at Nagarjuni hill (near Gaya) which begins with an invocation to goddess Mahiṣamardinī as under :

*Unnidrasya sarorruhasya sakalāmākṣipya śobhām rucā*
*sāvajñām Mahiṣāsurasya śirasi nyastaḥ kvaṇan nūpuraḥ* |
*Devyā vaḥ sthira bhaktivāda sadṛiśīm yuñjan phalenārthitam*
*diśyadacchā nakhāṅśu-jāla-jaṭilaḥ pādaḥ padaṁ sampadaṁ* ||

This epigraph in its closing verses calls the Goddess as Kātyāyanī whose image was installed by Anantavarman in a cave located in Nagarjuni hill (Gaya) which has been mentioned as a part of Vindhya ranges (*vinyastādbhutavindhyabhūdharaguhām āśritya Kātyāyanī*). Lastly, it also refers to her as Bhavānī (cf....... *ramyaṁ Bhavānyai dadau*).

It would be seen from the foregoing that the worship of Śakti in the Gupta period was associated with Viṣṇuism and Śivaism in conformity with the tradition of the *Devī-māhātmya*, a contemporary text, which still forms the core of *Śaktācāra*.

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3. FLEET, J. F., *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.
4. SIRCAR, D.C., *Select Inscriptions*, I, (Second Edition, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 325-28.
5. FLEET, J.F., *op. cit.*, p. 227.

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Of prime interest in the present case, however, is the Gangdhar inscription which not only refers to the Tantric ritualism in the expression '*tantrodbhūta*' but also perhaps hints at Vāmācāra related to a system that is styled in the later texts as *Saṁhāra-krama*. Keeping in view the reference to Ḍākinīs, it appears that the expression '*gatamidam*' was preceded by term like *śava* or *kuṇapa* (corpse) or *muṇḍa* suggesting that it was a shrine mainly dedicated to Goddess Cāmuṇḍā (probably in a cremation ground on the bank of Garggarā) with other Mātṛkās and attended by Ḍākinīs constantly. We, therefore, propose to restore the missing letters in the third line of the verse as '*Cāmuṇḍārcā Kuṇapa*' *(gatamidaṁ ḍākinī-saṁprakīrṇāṁ)*. It is quite likely that the unknown author of this inscription wanted to indicate indirectly that during daily *pūjā*, conducted according to Tantric rites, in the temple the *Ḍākinīs* were being offered *bali* etc., which perhaps was believed to have been accepted by them with great joy; their presence being felt by a gust (or wind). Probably on account of the performance of such Tantric rituals in the temple, it has been mentioned in Gangdhar inscription as *veśmātyugram*, i. e., most powerful or effective shrine where desires get accomplished easily. FLEET's translation[6] of the term as 'terrible abode' does not seem to be quite appropriate. It may also be mentioned incidentally that the Ḍākinīs in the Tantra tradition, as preserved in *Kulārṇava Tantra*, are stated to be beautiful female divinities with serpentine faces holding *Kamaṇḍalu* and *kartarikā* symbolizing purification of soul and destruction of ignorance respectively :

*Ḍākinī sarpavadanā*
*vittajā jvalanaprabhā /*
*Kamaṇḍaluṁ kartarika ca*
*dhārayantī varapradā //*
—(*Kulārṇava-Tantra*, X. 138)

It appears that in Gupta period the goddess Durgā or Kātyāyanī was being worshipped in her various aspects including Cāmuṇḍā and Pārvatī. The Chhoti Sadari epigraph[7], however, also associates Śiva's Ardhanārīśvara form with Śāktism which is in conformity with Śākta Tantrācāra, for, it appears to have served as the base for the growth of the concept of *kāmakalā*.

6. FLEET, J.F., *op. cit.*, p. 78.
7. SIRCAR, D.C., *op. cit.*, p. 124.

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In order to understand something about the Tantric practices referred to above perhaps the data furnished by the *Harṣacarita*[8] of Bāṇa are not only interesting but also useful. Amongst the rituals performed on the occasion of the last illness of Prabhākaravardhana, some Śākta rites were also performed as can be seen form the following passage :

"*Kvaciddīpikā-dahyamāna kulaputraka-prosādyamāna mātṛ-maṇḍalam / Kvacin-muṇḍopahārāharaṇodyat-draviḍa - prārthyamānāmardakam / Kvacidāndhrodhrīyamāṇa bāhu-vapropayācyamāna Caṇḍikam / Anyatra śirovidhṛta-vilīyamāna galadguggulu-vikala - nava-sevākanumīyamāna Mahākālam / Aparatra niśitaśastrīnikṛttām-māṁsa homa prasaktāpta-vargam / Aparatra prakāśa-narapati-kumāraka-krīyamāṇa mahāmāṁsa vikraya-prakramam*" /

All the above-cited references are to be assessed in one and the same context to draw a fuller picture of Śāktism, *viz.*, the worship of *mātṛ-maṇḍala*, i.e., *yantra* by *kulaputras*, offering of heads (human or animal) to god Amardaka (Rudra) as Mahābhairava, praying to Goddess Caṇḍikā (ten-handed Durgā) by a priest from Āndhra country, burning of *guggula* (incense) on the head to propitiate Mahākāla, offering of one's own flesh on the sacrificial fire by the elite and lastly open sale of human (corpse's) flesh by princes (as an auspicious act). The focal point of this description by Bāṇa is probably performance of a special *anuṣṭhāna* (ritual) to please the Goddess along with the prescribed *āvaraṇa*, deities like *mātṛkās*, Bhairava and Mahākāla by priests and others in order to cure the king. A significant feature of this special Śākta ritual was offering one's own (human) flesh to the Goddess which is regarded in the Śākta tradition as a great sacrifice.

The *Harṣacarita*[9] also preserves some notable references to the most secret ritual connected with some kind of *Śava* (Vetāla)-sādhanā, performed by Mahā Śaiva Bhairavācārya who was a south Indian by birth :

"*Tasyāṁ ca kumuda-dhūli-dhavalena bhasmanā likhitasya mahato maṇḍalasya madhyasthitaṁ............rakta candanānulepino raktasragambarābharaṇasyottānāśayasya śavasyorasyupaviśya jātajātavedasi mukhakuhare prarabdhāgnikāryam / kṛṣṇoṣṇiṣaṁ kṛṣṇāṅgarāgaṁ kṛṣṇ pratisaraṁ kṛṣṇāvāsasaṁ kṛṣṇatilāhutinibhena....Bhairavācāryamapaśyat...*"

8. PATHAK, Jagannath (Ed.), *Harṣacaritam*, V *Ucchvāsa* (Varanasi, 1958) p. 256.
9. PATHAK, J., *ibid.*, pp. 182-83.

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At the end of this *sādhanā*, according to the text, Bhairavācārya became a Vidyādhara and the King Prabhākaravardhana was granted boon by goddess Laksmı (Rājya-Laksmi).

The *Harṣacarita* also refers to *mūlamantra*, secret initiation, according to Śaiva system, offering of buffalo as a part of sacrificial ritual on Mahā-navamı (9th Day of Aśvin, bright half) and the miraculous Śrīparvata famous in the Tantric lore of India. Thus the *Harṣacarita*, clearly indicates that by the time of Harṣa, Śākta Tantrācāra appears to have taken of well-established form which perhaps underwent further modifications in later times.

This kind of religious development also presupposes a much earlier beginning for Tantra. The reference to Tantric rites in the Gangdhar inrcription is thus quite meaningful. To me it appears to be almost certain that the *Maṇḍala-krama* connected with Mātṛs in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[10] refers only to the *Yantra-vidhāna* associated with Śāktism and Tantrācāra.

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10. Bhat, M. Ramakrishna (ed.), *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, II, (Delhi 1931). *Cf.* '*Mātṛṇāmapi maṇḍakramavido*.......Chap. LX.

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वटुकनाथशास्त्री खिस्ते, वाराणसी :

## आगमशास्त्रीयः पूजाक्रमः

भारतीयविद्यापरम्परासु शब्दब्रह्मराशिर्भगवान् वेदः, माहेश्वरपरामर्शात्मक आगमश्च परमोपेयतया परम्परया विद्वद्भिस्तपस्विभिः समुपास्येते इति न तिरोहितं शास्त्रचक्षुषां श्रद्धाशुद्धानां सुधियाम् । तत्र तावत् 'आचार्यवान् पुरुषो वेद' 'आचार्य देवो भव' इत्याद्युपनिषदामनुशासनम् । 'गुरुमूलाः क्रियाः सर्वाः' इत्यागमानां निर्देश इत्युभयथा गुरूपसदनपुरस्सरमेवोपास्तिक्षेत्रे प्रवेशः साधकानामनुमन्यते शास्त्रकारैः । नानाजन्मभिर्विविधाधरोत्तरोपासनापरिशुद्धचेतसामेव श्रीब्रह्मविद्याराधनविधौ चेतः प्रवृत्तिरुपजायते । यदुक्तम्—

शैववैष्णवदौर्गार्कगाणपत्यादिकैः क्रमात् ।
मन्त्रैर्विशुद्धचित्तस्य कौलज्ञानं प्रकाशते ।। इति ।

उपासनाशास्त्रे देवताप्राधान्यवादो न तु कर्म्मणः प्राधान्यम् । क्रियाप्राधान्याभावादेव देवतारूपसिद्धवस्तुबोधका वेदान्ता इति वाचो युक्तिः । देवतायाश्च त्रीणि रूपाणि स्थूलं सूक्ष्मं परञ्चेति । तत्राऽऽद्यं तत्तद् ध्यानश्लोकोक्तं, द्वितीयं तत्तन्मूलमन्त्रात्मकं, तृतीयन्तु वासनात्मकं परमित्यभिधीयते । त्रिपुरोपनिषद् व्याख्याने सेतुबन्धटीकायाञ्च श्रीभास्कररायचरणैर्वैशद्येन तदेतन्निरूपितम् ।

श्री सेतुबन्धव्याख्यायामष्टमे विश्रामे पूजासङ्केतव्याख्यायामिदमुच्यते—

पूजासङ्केतमधुना कथयामि तवाऽनघे ।
यस्य प्रबोधमात्रेण जीवन्मुक्तः प्रमोदते ।।

इति मूलश्लोकविषये टीकायामुच्यते—सङ्केतज्ञानमात्रेण जीवनमुक्तश्चेत्तादृशविभावनपूर्वकं चक्रपूजनेन तथात्वं (जीवन्मुक्तत्वं) कैमुतिकन्यायेनैव सिद्ध्यति । एतेन विमर्शस्य प्राधान्यं सूचितम् ।

स्वभावतः सिद्धा पूजा तावत् त्रिविधा परा, अपरा, परापराचेति । यदुक्तं—

तव नित्योदिता पूजा त्रिभिर्भेदैर्व्यवस्थिता ।
परा चाऽप्यपरा गौरि तृतीया च परापरा ।।

या नित्यपूजा साधकस्याऽवश्यकर्तव्यत्वेन प्रथमं निर्दिष्टा सैव त्रिविधा न तु काम्या नमित्तिकी चेति नित्यशब्देन व्यावृत्तिः । तत्र पूजात्रयस्य निष्कृष्टं लक्षणत्रयं तत्रैव निर्दिष्टं

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यथा—द्वैतसामान्या भावे परा, अद्वैतभावसामान्या भावे त्वपरा, द्वैतविलयाभ्यासदशायां परापराचेति । ताश्च क्रमेण मूल एव लक्ष्यन्ते यथा—

प्रथमाऽद्वैतभावस्था सर्वप्रचरगोचरा ।
द्वितीया चक्रपूजा च सदा निष्पाद्यते मया ।।
एवं ज्ञानमये देवि तृतीया स्वप्रथामयी ।
उत्तमा सा परा ज्ञेया विधानं शृणु साम्प्रतम् ।।

प्रचराणि प्रकर्षेण चरणशीलानि इन्द्रियाणि विषयग्रहणाय सर्वदाऽभिमुखी भवन्ति । अयं भावः—सर्वेन्द्रियजन्येषु ज्ञानेषु ये विषयास्तेषु सच्चिदानन्दांशस्याऽनुगतस्य भानं न तु नत्वनुगतयोर्नामरूपयोः । इदमेव 'ऋतंभरा तत्र प्रज्ञा' इति योगसूत्रप्रसिद्धं ज्ञानम् । अत एव अद्वैतभावस्था द्वैतसामान्याभावशाली योऽन्तःकरणवृत्तिविशेष सान्निष्ठा सा प्रथमा परा पूजेति कथ्यते । सर्वत्र बाह्ये आभ्यन्तरे वा प्रदेशे सकलाधिष्ठानभूतस्य चैतन्यस्य अभिव्यक्ति-रस्यां दशायाम् । तदुक्तम्—

यत्र-यत्र मनो याति बाह्ये वाऽऽभ्यन्तरे प्रिये ।
तत्र तत्राऽक्षमार्गेण चैतन्यं व्यज्यते प्रभोः ।।

अतएव शिवसूत्रेषु 'चैतन्यमात्मा' इत्युक्तया द्वितीया चक्रपूजा भूगृहादिबिन्दून्तपूजा या वर्णिता सा मया प्रत्यहं क्रियते इति परशिवस्योक्तिः । एतेन शिववचनेनैतल्लभ्यते-यत्पर-पूजाधिकारिणाऽपि नित्यमुक्तेन मया द्वितीयाऽपरा पूजा सम्प्रदायसंरक्षणाय 'सदानिष्पाद्यते' नियमेनाऽनुष्ठीयते इति । एतेन केवलमानसकर्म्मणो निषेधोऽपि सूचितः । मुक्तानां पर-पूजारहस्यविदामपि बाह्यपूजादिक्रमोऽनुष्ठेय एवेति सिद्धम् । अनधिकारिणां प्रमादालस्यव-शाद् बाह्यकर्मविलोपे प्रत्यवायापत्तिरिति तत्परिहाराय जीवन्मुक्तैरपि तथैवाऽऽचरणीयमिति सिद्धान्तः । आपत्कालादौ शास्त्रनिर्दिष्टस्तथा सङ्कोचो न दुष्यति ।

परापरायाः पूजायाः स्वरूपं तु—ज्ञानमये चिदेकस्वभावे ब्रह्मणि स्वस्याऽऽत्मनः प्रथाऽभेदेन प्रस्फुरणम् । अर्थात् उभयाऽभेदाभ्यासः । तल्लक्षणमुक्तं प्राचीनैः—

प्रकाशैकघने धाम्नि विकल्पान् प्रसवादिकान् ।
निक्षिपाम्यर्चनद्वारा वह्नाविव घृताहुतीः ।।

एतेन परापूजैवोत्तमा, परापरातु मध्यमा, अपरात्वधमेति ।

वस्तुतोऽयं न पूजाभेदः, 'किन्तु साधकानामधिकारानुसारमवस्थाभेदाक्रियमाणस्य विधेरवस्थाभेदा एवैते भवन्ति । अपरायामपि पूजायां परपूजाऽनुषङ्गो वर्तत एव ।

गुरुस्वरूपानुसन्धानमेव परपूजा शरीरमिति प्राचीनैरपि पठ्यते यथा—

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'स्वप्रकाश शिवमूर्तिरेकिका
तद्विमर्शतनुरेकिका तयोः ।
सामरस्यवपुरिष्यते परा
पादुका परशिवात्मनो गुरोः ॥
स्वप्रकाशवपुषा गुरुः शिवो
यः प्रसीदति पदार्थमस्तके ।
तत्प्रसादमिह तत्त्वशोधनं
प्राप्य मोदमुपयाति भावुकः ॥

सहस्रदलकमलाख्ये महापद्मवने तदन्तःस्थकर्णिकामध्यभागस्थे वाग्भवबीजाकारे पीठे प्रकाश-विमर्शात्मकशिवशक्ति सामरस्यमयीं स्वनाथात्मिकामकुलामृतकुण्डलिनी-स्वरूपिणीं गुरुपादुकां परमामृतवर्षिणीमनुसन्दधानः साधकस्तत्प्रसादमासाद्य निर्विकल्प-स्वात्मा-मात्रविश्रान्ति सुखमनुभवतीति परपूजादिक् ।'

एवं विधायाः परपूजाया उत्तरमेव ग्रन्थे—

इन्द्रियप्रीणनैर्द्रव्यैर्विहितस्वात्म पूजनः ।
न्यासान्निवर्तयेद्देहे षोढान्यासपुरस्सरम् ॥

इत्युक्त्या 'नाऽदेवो देवमर्चयेत्' शिवो भूत्वा शिवं यजेत्' इत्याद्युक्तरीत्या परपूजावासितान्तः-करणस्यैवाऽपरपूजायां प्रवृत्तिरिति शास्त्रकाराशयः प्रतीयते । एवं पूजात्रयस्य वस्तुतः पर-स्परसापेक्षत्वं न पुनः पार्थक्यं कल्पनीयम् ।

इयमेव पूजास्वरूपस्य वासना पञ्चमपटलान्ते निरूपिता, यथा—

करणेन्द्रियचक्रस्थां देवीं संवित्स्वरूपिणीम् ।
विश्वाहंकृतिपुष्पैस्तु पूजयेत् सर्वसिद्धये ॥

करणानामिन्द्रियाणां ज्ञानकर्मात्मकभेदभिन्नानां चक्रं समूह एव श्लेषवशात् चक्रपदवाच्यम् । तन्मध्यस्थां देवीं क्रीडाविजगीषा प्रकाशमानत्वादिधर्मशालिनीं संवित्स्वरूपिणीं निर्विषय-ज्ञानरूपां त्रिपुरसुन्दरीं जाग्रदाद्यवस्थात्रयसाक्षिणीं सर्वसिद्धये सर्वात्मत्वलाभाय तल्ला-भद्वारा समस्ततन्त्रोक्तफलसिद्धये पूजयेत् । पुष्पैरित्युपलक्षणं सर्वेषामुपचाराणाम् । उपचाराश्च विश्वाहङ्कृतिरूपाः । विश्वस्मिन् षट्त्रिंशत्तत्वात्मके सर्वत्राऽहंभावो ब्रह्मैवाऽहमित्याकारिका सार्वदिकी पराहन्ताभावनेति यावत् । अयमेवाऽर्थः संक्षिप्य निरूपितः प्राचीनैरन्यत्र यथा—

ज्ञाता स्वात्मा भवेद् ज्ञानमर्घ्यं ज्ञेयं बहिः स्थितम् ।
श्रीचक्रं पूजनं तेषामेकीकरणमीरितम् ॥

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महार्थमञ्जरीकारेणाऽपि पूजास्वरूपमन्यथा समुन्मीलितं तदपि तात्पर्यतः पूर्वसिद्धान्तान्न भिद्यते । तथाहि तदीया कारिका—

निजबलनिभालनमेव वरिवस्या सा च दुर्लभा लोके ।
सुलभानि विश्वपतेरासवताम्बूलगन्धपुष्पाणि ॥

श्रीचिद्गगनचन्द्रिकायां चार-राव-चरु-मुद्राप्रकारैः पूजा सम्पत्तिरुक्ता । तत्र चारः समयाचारः, रावो विमर्शः, चरुः पूजोपयोगी द्रव्यविशेषः, मुद्रा करचरणादिसन्निवेशविशेषः, एभिश्चतुर्भिः प्रकारैः पूजा निष्पद्यत इत्युक्तम् । तत्राऽपि रावो विमर्श एव प्रधानं, सर्वस्याऽपि तत्रैव समावेशात् । तस्मात् स्वस्वरूपं परामर्श एव परमा पूजेति तात्पर्यम् ।

निजबलनिभालनशब्दार्थस्तु—स्वहृदयस्फुरत्तारूपः परमेश्वर एव देवता । तत्र यन्निजं स्वात्मतादात्म्यानुप्रविष्टं बलं विश्वविक्षोभ सहिष्णुत्वलक्षणं विस्रष्टृत्वं तत्पर्यालोचनमेव वरिवस्या । तच्च 'बल' शब्देन शास्त्रेषु व्यपदिश्यते । यथा श्रीस्पन्दे—'अपित्वात्मबलं मन्त्राः' इति । श्रीप्रत्यभिज्ञाहृदये—'बललाभे विश्वमात्मसात्करोति' इति । श्रुतिश्च 'न वा ओजीयो रुद्र त्वदस्ति' इति ।

सा च पूजा केषाञ्चन महायोगिनामेव कर्तव्यभूमिर्न साधारणानाम् । अतएव निःश्रेणिकारोहणन्यायेन क्रमिकः पूजाविधिः साधकानामुपदिष्टः शास्त्रकारैः । विमर्शस्तु सर्वानुस्यूतस्तं विना सर्वस्य कर्म्मणो निर्वीर्यत्वमेव स्यात् । विमर्श एवं भक्तेः पार्यन्तिकं रूपमिति प्रतिभाति । तस्यैव धाराधिरोहक्रमेण प्रकर्षे पर्यवसन्ने परमपूजा फलावाप्तिः । यथोक्तमाचार्याभिनवगुप्तपादैः—

एष यागविधिःकोऽपि कस्याऽपि हृदि वर्तते ।
यस्य प्रसीदेच्चित्तचक्रं द्रागपश्चिमजन्मनः ॥

इति संक्षेपतः परामृष्टं पूजास्वरूपम् ।

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व्रजवल्लभद्विवेदः, वाराणसी :

## सात्वतीयो योगः

आगमग्रन्थेषु संहिताग्रन्थेषु च[1] ज्ञान-योग-क्रिया-चर्यात्मकः पादविभागो[2] दृश्यते, किन्तु त्रिरत्ननाम्ना प्रख्यातासु सात्वत-पौष्कर-जयाख्यास्तु पाञ्चरात्रसंहितासु तन्नास्ति ।[3] अथापि ज्ञान-योग-क्रिया-चर्यापादेषु प्रतिपादिताः सर्वे विषयाः संक्षेपेण विस्तरेण वा प्रकरणबद्धा विप्रकीर्णा वा तासु विद्यन्त एव । सात्वतसंहितायां योगशास्त्रस्य प्रतिपादकाः अंशाः प्रायः सम्पूर्णे ग्रन्थे विप्रकीर्णा विद्यन्ते । तान् संगृह्यात्र किमप्युच्यते ।

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१. "पशुपाशपतिज्ञानं ज्ञानमित्यमिधीयते । षडध्वशुद्धिर्विधिना गुर्वधीना क्रियोच्यते ।। वर्णाश्रमप्रयुक्तस्य मयैव विहितस्य च । ममार्चनादिधर्मस्य चर्या चर्येति कथ्यते ।। मदुक्तेनैव मार्गेण मध्यवस्थितचेतसः । वृत्त्यन्तरनिरोधो हि योग इत्यभिधीयते" ।। (७।२।१०।३१-३३) इत्येवं शिवपुराणे तेषां लक्षणानि दृश्यन्ते, "विवेको यत्र तत्त्वानां कार्यकारण भेदतः । यथावदुचितं वस्तु हेयं चैवोपचर्यते ।। विद्यापादः स विज्ञेयः" (२।८-९), "मुद्रामण्डलमन्त्राणां लक्षणं साधकात्मनाम् । आचार्याणां च.... क्रियापादः स विज्ञेयः" २।१०-११), 'यत्रोपायो विरक्तानां षडङ्गः सुमहात्मनाम् ।। रागिणामपि भोगार्थं योगपादः स उच्यते ।" (२।११-१२), "समयाचार सद्वादस्थितः स्वाम्नाय लक्षणः । चर्यापादः समुद्दिष्टः" (२।१३) इति च मतङ्गपारमेश्वरे विद्यापादे । अत्र ज्ञानं विद्येत्यनर्थान्तरम् । विभिन्नेष्वागमेषु लक्षणानामेषां संकरोऽपि दृश्यत इत्यजितागम प्रथमभाग-संस्कृतोपोद्घाते (पृ० १०-११) पाण्डिचेरीमुद्रिते द्रष्टव्यम् ।

२. वैष्णवशैवशाक्तादिष्वागमेषु बौद्धशाक्तादिषु तन्त्रेषु चैष पादविभागो दृश्यते । तत्र बौद्धेषु तन्त्रेषु ज्ञानपदस्य स्थानेऽनुत्तरपदं प्रयुज्यते । शैवेष्वागमेषु च विद्यापादनाम्ना प्रथमः पादः प्रसिद्धः ।

३. पादविभागो न दृश्यत इत्यतोऽपि पादविभागात्मक संहितागमापेक्षया रत्नत्रयस्य प्राचीनता सिद्ध्यति । संहितात्रयेऽपि वर्तते सात्वतायाः परिच्छेदविभागात्मकं वैशिष्ट्यम् । संहिताग्रन्था आगमग्रन्थास्तन्त्रग्रन्था वा पटलेष्वध्यायेषु वा विभक्ता दृश्यन्ते । यथा जयाख्यायां पटलविभागः पौष्करायां चाध्यायात्मकः परिच्छेदविभागस्तु सात्वतां विहाय क्वाप्यन्यत्र नावलोक्यते ।

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"वासुदेवेन सङ्कर्षणायोपदिष्टमेकायनश्रुतेः सूत्ररूपं भगवत्प्राप्त्येकोपायभूताभिगमनोपादानेज्याऽऽस्वाध्याययोगरूपकर्मविचारैः[4] परव्यूहविभवरूपब्रह्मविचारैश्च गर्भितं[5] पञ्चविंशतिलक्षणं सात्वतं तन्त्रम्" (पृ० १) इति हि भाष्यकारोऽलशिङ्गभट्टो[6] ग्रन्थारम्भ एव वेदति। सात्वतोऽयं क्रियामार्गः शुद्धमार्ग इत्यपि स प्रतिपादयति (पृ० ३)। एतच्च पाञ्चकालिक धर्मानुष्ठानं भागवतस्य विहितम् (पृ० १०७)। शुद्धः क्रियामार्गो[7] हि कर्मज्ञानभक्तिप्रपत्तिनाम्नां

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४. अभिगमनम्, उपादानम्, इज्या, स्वाध्यायः, योग इति पञ्चानां भगवत्कैङ्कर्यरूपाणां कर्मणां प्रत्यहमनुष्ठानार्थं प्रतिनियताः पञ्च कालाः शास्त्रेऽस्मिन् यतः सन्ति संविभक्ताः अतः पञ्चरात्राह्वयमिदं शास्त्रमिति मन्तव्यम्। "तैरिष्टः पञ्च कालज्ञैर्हरिरेकान्तिभिर्नरैः" (१२।३३६।४६), "तत्रापि पञ्चभिर्यज्ञैः पञ्चकालानरिन्दम" (१२।३३७।३०) इत्येवं नारायणीयोपाख्यानेऽपि स्मर्यन्ते पञ्चकालाः पञ्चयज्ञा वा इमे। श्रूयते च शतपथब्राह्मणे (१३।६।१) पाञ्चरात्रसत्रम्। वैदिके वाङ्मये रात्रशब्दो वर्ततेऽहोरात्रस्य वाचकः। तदनुसारं पाञ्चरात्रसत्रमिदं पञ्चभिरहोरात्रैः सम्पादनीयं स्यात्। अत्र चैकमेवाहोरात्रं पञ्चसु कालेषु विभज्य तत्र भगवानिज्यते। कालसंकोचेऽस्मिन् किं कारणमिति न जानीमः। पाञ्चरात्रसंज्ञाप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं त्वत्रैव निहितमिति वयं भणामः। "पञ्चकालरतश्चैव पञ्चरात्रार्थवित्तथा" (१६।९) इति जयाख्यवचने पञ्चकालपञ्चरात्रयोः पृथङ् निर्देशान्नैतत्संभवतीति पाञ्चरात्ररक्षासम्पादकः श्रीदुरैस्वामिमहोदयः स्वकीये संस्कृतोपोद्घाते (पृ० ३९) प्रतिपादयति। तन्न विचारचारु, पञ्चरात्रार्थविदेव पञ्चकालरतो भवतीत्येतत्प्रदर्शनाय तत्रोभयोरप्येतयोः पदयोः प्रयोगस्यावश्यकत्वात्, पञ्चरात्रशास्त्रं जानाति, तदनुरूपमाचरतीति जयाख्यवचनस्याभिप्रायत्वात्।

५. पञ्चविंशतिलक्षणमिति विशेषणेन सात्वततन्त्रस्य पञ्चविंशतिपरिच्छेदात्मकत्वमेव भाष्यकारस्याभिप्रेतमिति निश्चप्रचम्। एवं च डा० ढेनियलस्मिथमहोदयस्यापूर्णेयं संहितेति कथनं नैवौचित्यपदवीं भजते ("ए डिस्क्रिप्टिव बिब्लिओग्राफी आफ द प्रिण्टेड टेक्स्ट्स आफ द पाञ्चरात्रागम" इत्यस्य ग्रन्थस्य प्रथमभागस्य ५३४-५३६ पृष्ठान्यवलोकनीयानि)।

६. अलशिङ्गभट्टविरचितभाष्येण सह सात्वतसंहितायाः परिष्कृतं संस्करणं काशीस्थसम्पूर्णानन्दसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयतः शीघ्रमेव प्राकाश्यमेष्यति।

७. "तान् सात्वते क्रियामार्गे मद्वाक्याद् याहि योजय" (११७) इति सात्वतवचनस्य अद्यावधि निवृत्तिपरायणान् मुनीन् सात्वतशास्त्रोदिते शुद्धे क्रियामार्गे प्रवृत्तिप्रवणे योजयेत्यभिप्रायो ज्ञेयः। क्रियामार्गोऽयं क्रियायोगपदेन पातञ्जलयोगसूत्रे व्याख्यातः—"तपः स्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि क्रियायोगः" (२।१) इति। अयम्—"समाधिभावन-

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चतुर्विधानां भगवत्प्राप्त्युपायानां मध्ये प्रथमः कर्मयोगनाम्नाऽप्यभिधीयते (पृ० ३०)। तदेतस्य पञ्चाङ्गस्य शुद्धस्य क्रियामार्गस्य विवरणमत्र षष्ठे परिच्छेदे विस्तरेणोपलभ्यते। योगस्तस्यान्तिममङ्गं भवति। सोऽयं योगोऽत्र "समुत्थायार्धरात्रेऽथ" (६।१६३) इत्यादिना "ब्रह्म सम्पद्यते तदा" (६।२१४) इत्यन्तेन ग्रन्थेन षष्ठे, "मन्त्रमाराधयेद् येन विधिना "(१७।१५) इत्यादिना "हृदि विन्यसेत्" (१७।२७) इत्यन्तेन ग्रन्थेन सप्तदशेऽन्यत्र च यथाप्रसङ्गं वर्णितः। तथाहि—

अर्धरात्रे समुत्थाय जितनिद्रो जितेन्द्रियः साधकः कमण्डलुस्थितेन वारिणा समाचम्य गुरुं देवं च नमस्कृत्य[८] अजिनासने समुपविश्यानिरुद्धाख्यादि मन्त्रचतुष्केण संहारलक्षणं न्यासं[९] कुर्यात्। आपादाज्जानुपर्यन्तमनिरुद्धाख्यम्, जानुमण्डलान्नाभ्यन्तं प्रद्युम्नाख्यम्, नाभेराकर्णदेशं साङ्कर्षणम्, आकर्णदेशाद् ब्रह्मरन्ध्रान्तं च वासुदेवाख्यमित्ययं वर्तते मन्त्रचतुष्टयस्य संहारक्रमेण न्यासविधिः। ततोऽभिमतेन पद्मासनादिनाऽऽसीनः स्वात्मनि चातुरात्मीयमाभिमानं समाश्रयेत्। वक्षसा समं कायशिरोग्रीवं सन्धाय साधकेन स्वीया विनिमीलितप्राया दृग् नासाग्रगता, जिह्वा तालुतलस्था, दशनावली सान्तरे, ओष्ठपुटावीषल्लग्नौ च विधेयौ। द्वे बाहुकूर्परे नाभौ, हस्तौ

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नार्थः क्लेशतनूकरणार्थश्च" (२।२) भवति। सात्वतप्रदर्शितोऽन्तर्यागो हि समाधिभावनयैव निष्पद्यते। यद्यपि "क्रियायोगाः सर्वे संसृतिहेतवः" इति (भागवत) भावार्थदीपिकाकारवंशीधरोद्धृतवचनानुसारं सर्वे क्रियायोगाः संसृतिहेतवो भवन्ति, तथापि "तन्त्रं सात्वतमाचष्ट नैष्कर्म्यं कर्मणां यतः" (१।२।८) इति श्रीमद्भागवतीयं साक्षाद्वचनमेतत् कर्मणामपि मोक्षप्रदत्वं साधयति। तथाहि व्याख्याकारः श्रीधरः— कर्मणामेव मोचकत्वं यतो भवति तदाचष्टेत्यर्थः" इति व्याख्यातवान्। "कर्मणां मोक्षसाधनत्वम्" इति पदरत्नावलीकारो विजयध्वजः। "भगवत्सेवापरत्वेन मोचकत्वमेव भवति" इति च गिरिधरो बालप्रबोधिनीकारः। एवं च सात्वतोक्तकर्मणामपि मोक्षसाधनत्वं सुतरां सिद्ध्यति।

८. 'अजिनासने' इति "चैलाजिनकुशोत्तरम्" (६।११) इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतावचनं स्मारयति।

९. अङ्गन्यास-करन्यासादयः सात्वतायां तत्र तत्र विवृताः। सप्तदशे परिच्छेदे तद्विवरणावसरे (पृ० २९५) भाष्यकारः—"व्यापारो मानसो ह्येष न्यासाख्यो यद्यपि स्मृतः। न बध्नाति स्थितिं सम्यक् तथापि क्रियया विना॥ कराधीना पुनः सा" (४।४-५), नाडीदशकमाश्रित्य ता एवाङ्गुलयो मताः" (४।२२) इत्येवं पारमेश्वरसंहितावचनान्युदाहृत्य न्यासलक्षणमाचष्टे। आमगशास्त्रेषु तन्त्रशास्त्रेषु च न्यासानां महान् प्रपञ्चो विद्यते। मन्त्राक्षराणां पदानां सम्पूर्णस्य मन्त्रस्य च भावनाख्येन मानसेन व्यापारेण सह करांगुलीनां यथायथं निर्दिष्टेष्वङ्गेषु योजनां विदधता साधकेन स्वकीयस्य देहस्य दिव्यत्वमापाद्यते।

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च ऊरुमध्यप्रदेशयोर्वामदक्षिणक्रमेणाधरोत्तरयोगेन स्थापनीयौ। एवं स्वविग्रहं[१०] योगपट्टेना-चलं सन्धार्य, अपानदेशं संकोच्य, अवर्णहीने नालक्ष्यमूर्तिना[११] हार्णेन तमुपरिष्टाद् विकासयेत्। तेन च विषयान्तर्निविष्टं चित्तं समाहृत्य बुद्धिलीनं कुर्यात्। ततो मन्त्रैः सहात्मानमात्मना समादधीत।

तत्रायं क्रमः—स्वहृदयकमलं तत्तत्पदभेदेन चातुरात्म्यैरधिष्ठितं स्मृत्वा जाग्रत्पदस्थे-नानिरुद्धेन सह आत्मानमेकीभूतं ध्यायन् प्रत्यहं तन्मन्त्रं शतवारं जपेत्। एवं तन्मन्त्रजपसाम-र्थ्यात् तदीयं ज्ञानं माहात्म्यं च स्वस्मिन् भावयेत्। एवमेकं संवत्सरं योगाभ्यासे कृतेऽनिरुद्धता-दात्म्यसमन्वितो भवति योगी। तदनन्तरमनिरुद्धं मन्त्रेण सह प्रद्युम्ने संहृत्य प्रद्युम्नोऽहमिति तादात्म्यभावनां कुर्वन् प्रत्यहं तन्मन्त्रं शतद्वयं जपन् पुनरेकं संवत्सरं नयेत्। एतेन प्रद्युम्न-प्रभावो भवति। एवं रीत्या सङ्कर्षणमन्त्रं वासुदेवमन्त्रं स्वप्नव्यूहानिरुद्धादि वासुदेवान्तमन्त्र-चतुष्टयं च प्रत्येकमेकैकं संवत्सरं जपवृद्धिक्रमेण तत्तादात्म्यभावनया सहाऽभ्यसन् तत्तन्मन्त्रं तत्तदुत्तरमन्त्रे उपसंहरन् सुषुप्तिव्यूहवासुदेवमपि तुर्यस्थाने स्थिते परात्परवासुदेवे उपसंहरन् तत्तादात्म्यभावनया तन्मन्त्रं ध्यातृध्येयाविभागेन यावत्तन्मयत्वं व्रजेत् तावदन्तं जपन् ततो[१२]

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१०. योगस्य पट्टं वसनविशेषः, योगार्थं पट्टमिति वा यद्वस्त्रेण पृष्ठजानुबन्धनं भवति तत्। तल्लक्षणं यथा—पृष्ठजान्वोः समायोगे वस्त्रं वलयवद् दृढम्। परिवेष्ट्य यदूर्ध्व-क्षुस्तिष्ठेत्तद् योगपट्टकम्॥" इति पाद्मे कार्तिकमाहात्म्ये द्वितीयेऽध्याये (शब्दकल्पद्रुमे, भा० ४, पृ० ५६)। "योगाभ्यासार्थं पट्टम्। योगिधार्ये पट्टसूत्रभेदे। योगपदकमन्यत्र–त्रिविधं योगपदकमाद्यं व्याघ्राजिनोद्भवम्। द्वितीयं मृगचर्माढ्यं तृतीयं तन्तुनिर्मितम्॥ चतुर्मात्रप्रविस्तारं दैर्घ्येण यज्ञसूत्रवत्।" सिद्धान्तशेखरः। चतुर्मात्रं चतुरंगुलमात्रम्। वीरमि०" (भा० ६, पृ० ४७८०)।

११. "मध्यजिह्वे स्फारितास्ये मध्ये निक्षिप्य चेतनाम्। होच्चारं मनसा कुर्वंस्ततः शान्ते प्रलीयते॥" (श्लो० ८०) इति विज्ञानभैरवश्लोकेऽप्यनच्कहकारमात्रोच्चारणमुप-दिश्यते। अस्य स्वरूपादिकं तत्रैव व्याख्यानेऽस्माभिः कृते तदुपोद्घाते (पृ० २७-३०) च द्रष्टव्यम्।

१२. जयाख्यायां (३२।११) योगाख्यानपटले, मृगेन्द्रादिषु च शैवागमेषु योगपादे (श्लोक ३) जपो योगाङ्गतया निर्दिश्यते। वाचिकः, उपांशुः, मानस इति त्रिविध एव जपः सर्वत्र प्रतिपाद्यते। अत्र तु–"वाचिकं क्षुद्रकर्मार्थमुपांशुः सिद्धिकर्मणि। मानसो मोक्षलक्ष्मीदो ध्यानात्मना सर्वसिद्धिकृत्॥" (३९।३५) इत्येवं लक्ष्मीतन्त्रप्रामाण्येन ध्यानात्मा चतुर्थः प्रकारोऽपि भाष्यकारेण जपस्य प्रदर्शितः (पृ० ८५), तस्य योगाङ्गना च व्याख्याता (पृ० ११५)। जयाख्यायां जयविधानाख्ये चतुर्दशे पटलेऽपि सोऽयं विषयो विस्तरेण सभेदोपभेदं भणितः।

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जपक्रियां त्यजेत् । एवमभ्यासाद् भगवद्योगी वेद्यवेदकभावरहिते समाधौ यदा स्थितिं लभते, तदा ब्रह्म सम्पद्यते ।[13] ब्रह्मैव भवतीत्यर्थः । परमसाम्यं भजतीति यावत् । तदुक्तम्—

अनेन क्रमयोगेन जपवृद्ध्याऽन्वितेन तु ॥
निखिलं चाप्यधीकुर्याद् मन्त्रवृन्दं पुरोदितम् ।
यावदाभाति भगवान् स्थाने पूर्वोक्तलक्षणे ॥
प्रलीनमूर्तिरमलो ह्यनन्तस्तेजसां निधिः ।
चिदानन्दघनः शान्तो ह्यनौपम्यो ह्यनाकुलः ॥
समाधायात्मनात्मानं तत्र त्यक्त्वा जपक्रियाम् ।
ध्यातृध्येयाविभागेन यावत् तन्मयतां व्रजेत् ॥
यदा संवेद्यनिर्मुक्ते[14] समाधौ लभते स्थितिम् ।
अभ्यासाद् भगवद्योगी ब्रह्म सम्पद्यते तदा ॥ (६।२१०-२१४)

मन्त्रात्मकस्य भगवत आराधनं चैवं विधीयते—स्नातो बद्धकचो मौनी शुद्धवासोऽर्घ्यं-

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१३ अस्यां स्पस्टोक्तौ सत्यामपि— "मुद्रां बद्ध्वा स्मरेद् ध्यानं देवोऽहमिति भावयेत्" (१७।३६) इति सात्वतवचनोपबृंहके—"अहं स भगवान् विष्णुरहं नारायणो हरिः । वासुदेवो ह्यहं व्यापी भूतावासो निरञ्जनः ॥ एवंरूपमहङ्कारमासाद्य सुदृढं मुने ।" (११।४१-४२) इति जयाख्यवचने जागरूके सत्यपि, भाष्यकारः—"नैतावता जीवात्मपरमात्मनोः स्वरूपैक्यं शङ्कनीयम्" (पृ.२९६) इति वदति, पाञ्चरात्ररक्षाप्रामाण्येन च तत्समर्थयति । तदेतच्चिन्त्यम्, "शान्तात्मन्येकतां गतम्" (१९।११२) इत्यत्रापि तयोरेकत्वस्य स्पष्टं प्रतिपादनात् । "जायते तत्परं ब्रह्म वासुदेवाख्यमव्ययम्" (१९।१४०) "प्रकृत्या सह चाभ्येति विलयं ब्रह्मदीक्षया" (१९।१८०) इत्यादिभिर्वचनैरप्ययमेव पक्षः समर्थितः । "वासुदेवः परा प्रकृतिः" (२।२।४२) इति ब्रह्मसूत्रशाङ्करभाष्यवचनेन, "इतस्त्वन्यां प्रकृतिं विद्धि मे पराम् । जीवभूतां महाबाहो ययेदं धार्यते जगत्," इति श्रीमद्भवद्गीतावाक्येन, "अभेदेनादिमूर्तेर्वै संस्थितं वटबीजवत्" (५।८१) इति सात्वतोक्तादृष्टान्तेनापि च पश्वादेव एव सर्वेषां प्रकृतिरिति ज्ञायते । विषयश्चायम् – " निरञ्जनः परमं साम्यमुपैति" (मुण्ड० ३।१।३) इत्यादिभिः श्रुतिभिरप्युपपाद्यते । "बीजात्मा चिन्मयः पुमान्" (११।३५) इत्यत्र च सात्वतायां स्पटष्मेव तस्य चित्स्वरूपत्वमुच्यते ।

१४. संवेद्यनिर्मुक्तः समाधिरयं षडध्वप्रकरणेऽपि (१९।११३) स्मर्यते । स च योगसूत्रप्रतिपादितादसम्प्रज्ञातसमाधेरभिन्न इति विभावनीयम् ।

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पुष्पधृक् साधक आसने उपविश्य दहनाप्यायनात्मिकाभ्यां[15] धारणाभ्यां[16] प्राणायामान्वितां भूतशुद्धिं कुर्यात् । तद्यथा केवलेन भावनासहितेन वा मन्त्रेण नाभिदेशस्थितं देवं ध्यात्वा कलमषं संगृह्य वायुमार्गेण प्रथमप्राणायामान्त्यरेचकवायुमार्गेण निस्सृतं तं द्वादशान्तावधौ क्षिपेत् । निरस्तपापं मन्त्रेशं वातचक्रसमन्वितं द्वितीयप्राणायामपूरकवायुसहितं नासाग्रेण देहे सम्पूरयेत् । गतिरुद्धेन वायुना तृतीयप्राणायामकुम्भकेन च तं मन्त्रेशं हृदयस्थं ध्यायेत् । चित्तोपशमनार्थं वायुजयाय चायं प्राणायामोऽभ्यस्यते । अथ बहिः शनैः शनैः केवलं मारुतं क्षिपेत् । अन्त्यं रेचकं विनाऽन्येषामुत्तरोत्तरं यथाशक्ति कालह्रासं नित्यमेव समाचरेत् । अथ तप्तहाटकसन्निभं सहस्ररश्मिसंकाशं मन्त्रेशं द्वादशान्ते वृत्तमण्डलमध्यगं स्मृत्वा पञ्चतन्मात्रैर्युक्तं स्वकं विग्रहं निर्दहेत्, दक्षिणाङ्घ्रेरङ्गुष्ठप्रान्तप्रदेशे[17] युगान्तहुतभुक्स्वरूपं ज्वालाशतसमावृतं शिखाक्षरं[18] ध्यात्वा तेन समन्ततः प्रज्ज्वलन्तं स्वविग्रहं ध्यायेदिति भावः । तदनु देहजां ज्वालां मन्त्रनाथे लयं गतां भावयेत्, दिव्यं प्रशान्ताकारं तं मन्त्रनाथं च चेतसाऽधिष्ठाय स्वमन्त्रात् तन्मन्त्रप्रतिपाद्यद्वादशान्तस्थितभगवतः[19] सकाशान्निस्सृतेनामृतौघेन स्वकं विग्रहमासिञ्चेत् । ततः समन्त्रं तद्बिम्बं द्वादशाङ्गुलोपरि वृत्तमण्डलमध्यस्थं हृदि विन्यसेदिति ।

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१५. तन्त्रान्तरेषु भूतशुद्धिप्रकरणे प्राणायामसाहाय्येन शोचदाहाप्याया उपदिश्यन्ते । अत्र तु दाह-आप्यायात्मकं धारणाद्वयमेव वर्ण्यते (पृ. ३५६) । एवं चात्र शोषस्य दाह एवान्तर्भावो मन्तव्यः ।

१६. धारणाद्वयमत्र वर्णितम् । धारणानां द्विषट्कं च वर्णाध्वविवेचके प्रकरणे दृश्यते । अत्र "पञ्चभिर्धारणाभिर्द्वाभ्यां वा शोधयेत्तनुम्" (३।१४३), " धारणापञ्चकं चैव संक्षिप्तं विहितं द्वयम्" (३।२२३) इत्येवं च धारणापञ्चकं द्वयं पञ्चकं च पारमेश्वरे स्मर्यते । धारणाविषयकः प्रपञ्चः पारमेश्वरे तृतीयाध्याये, जयाख्यायां च समाधिख्यापने दशमे पटले द्रष्टव्यः ।

१७. एष विषयः—कालाग्निना कालपदादुत्थितेन स्वकं पुरम् । प्लुष्टं विचिन्तयेदन्ते शान्ताभासस्तदा भवेत् ।" (श्लोक ५१) इति विज्ञानभैरवेऽपि वर्ण्यते कालपदाद् दक्षिणपादांगुष्ठात् । स्वकं पुरम् आत्मीयं पाञ्चभौतिकं शरीरमित्यर्थः ।

१८. शिखाक्षरं वह्निबीजमित्यर्थः ।

१९. द्वादशान्ते स्वमूर्ध्नो द्वादशांगुलोपरीत्यर्थः" (पृ० २९४) इति भाष्यकारः । द्वादशान्तोऽयं द्विषट्कपदेनाप्यत्र (१८।५४) निर्दिश्यते । "द्विषट्कं धारणानां च" (१९।१५८) इत्यत्र तु द्विषट्कशब्दो द्वादशसंख्यापरामर्शकः । प्रकरणेऽस्मिन्नकारो हकारश्च द्वादशान्त इत्युच्यते । तथाहि—

प्रभवे द्वादशान्तस्तु हकारश्चतुरात्मनाम् ॥

अकारस्त्वप्यये चैव तुल्यताऽतोऽनयोः स्मृता । (१९।१५४-१५५) इति ।

प्रभवे हकारश्चतुरात्मनां द्वादशान्तः, अप्यये च अकारश्चतुरात्मनां द्वादशान्त इत्यन्वयः । द्वादशान्तो धारणाद्विषट्कान्त इत्यर्थः । अत्राकारादिहकारादिष्वेकोनपञ्चाशद्वर्णेष्व-

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योगस्य लक्षणं संहितायां कुत्रापि न निर्दिष्टम् । भाष्यकारेण पाञ्चरात्ररक्षादिशा शाण्डिल्य-पराशर-दक्ष-याज्ञवल्क्यवचनानि समुद्धरता तद्विहितम् । तत्र शाण्डिल्यमतेन-अयं परमात्मा ईदृशः, अयं जीवात्मा ईदृश इत्येवं तयोः सम्बन्धानुसन्धानमेव योगः । वश्यैरिन्द्रियैः सम्पन्ना बुद्धेर्ब्रह्मणि संस्थितिरपि योगपदेनोच्यते । पराशरमतेन आत्मप्रयत्नसापेक्षाया विशिष्टाया मनोगतेर्ब्रह्मणि संयोगो योग इत्यभिधीयते । सर्वभावविनिर्मुक्तस्य क्षेत्रज्ञस्य[20] ब्रह्मणि न्यास एव ध्यानं योगश्चेति दक्षः । मनो बाह्यवृत्तिरहितं कृत्वा क्षेत्रज्ञस्य ब्रह्मणि न्यास एव योग इति च याज्ञवल्क्यः । अत्र शाण्डिल्यस्य द्वितीयं पराशरीयं च लक्षणमेकविधम् । एवमेव दक्षस्य याज्ञवल्क्यस्य च लक्षणं समानमिति त्रिविधमत्र योगस्य लक्षणं प्रतिपादितं भवति—जीवात्मपरमात्मनोः सम्बन्धानुसन्धानं प्रथमम्, शुद्धस्य मनसो ब्रह्मणि संयोगात्मकं द्वितीयम्, बाह्यवृत्तिरहितस्य क्षेत्रज्ञस्य ब्रह्मणि योजनं च तृतीयमिति । अन्ततः परिष्कृतचित्तवृत्तेर्जीवात्मनः परमात्मनि योजनमित्येकमेव सर्वलक्षणसमुच्चायकं योगस्य लक्षणं परिनिष्पन्नं भवति ।

परस्य भगवतोऽर्चनेऽष्टाङ्गयोगमुक्तानां हृद्यागनिरतात्मना योगिनामेवाधिकारोऽत्र (२।७-८) निर्दिष्टः । संहितेयमष्टाङ्गयोगस्य समर्थिकेति ज्ञायते । कानि तान्यङ्गानीति तु नाम दृश्यते । जयाख्यायां तु योगाख्याने त्रयस्त्रिंशे पटले प्राणायाम-प्रत्याहार-ध्यानधारणा-जय-योग-ऊह-समाधिभेदैरष्टाङ्गो योगो वर्णितः । एष च पातञ्जलादष्टाङ्गयोगाद्[21] भिद्यते ।

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कारादिसकारान्तं वर्णचतुष्टयक्रमेण द्वादशव्यूहा भवन्ति । तदुपर्यवस्थितस्य हकारस्य द्वादशान्तत्वम्, एवमप्ययक्रमे हकारमारभ्याऽकारान्तं व्यूहद्विषट्कानन्तरमवशिष्टस्याऽकारस्य द्वादशान्तत्वमिति भावः शाक्ततन्त्रेष्वपि—"अकारः सर्ववर्णाग्र्यः प्रकाशः परमः शिवः । हकारोऽन्त्यः कलारूपो विमर्शाख्यः प्रकीर्तितः ॥" इत्येवमकारहकारयोः प्रकाशविमर्शात्मकत्वं ख्याप्यते । अत्राप्यकारहकारौ ध्येयौ, तत्रापि च । प्रक्रिया तु भिद्यते ।

२०. क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोः स्वरूपं भगवद्गीतायां त्रयोदशाध्याये निर्दिष्टमत्र स्वीकर्तव्यम्, न तु नवमे परिच्छेदे (श्लोक ३०) पिण्डबीजादिप्रकरणे प्रोक्तम् ।

२१. मृगेन्द्रागमे योगपादेऽपि—"प्राणायामः प्रत्याहारो धारणा ध्यानवीक्षणे । जपः समाधिरित्यङ्गान्यङ्गी योगोऽष्टमः स्वयम् ॥" (श्लो० ३) इत्येवमिमान्येव योगाङ्गानि निर्दिश्यन्ते । अत्र वीक्षणमभिवीक्षणम् ऊहस्तर्क इत्यनर्थान्तरम् । सप्त अङ्गानि, अङ्गी योगश्चाष्टम इति तु प्रतिपादनभङ्गिभेदः । अथवाऽस्ति जयाख्यायां किञ्चिदत्र वैशिष्ट्यम् । तत्र हि प्राकृतं पौरुषम् ऐश्वर्यं चेति योगभेदत्रयं प्रतिपाद्यते (३१।१३) विवरणं चात्रापेक्षितम् । न च तद् दृश्यते मृगेन्द्रागमेऽपि । प्रकृतिसिद्धं प्राकृतम्, स्वाभाविकमिति यावत् । पुरुषकारेण उद्यमेन साधितं पौरुषम् । देवादीनामैश्वर्येण सिद्धम् । इति हि तेषां शब्दानामर्थः प्रतीयते ।

षडङ्गो योगोऽपि वैष्णवशैवशाक्त्यादिष्वागमेषु, बौद्धशैवशाक्तेषु तन्त्रेषु च प्रतिपाद्यते । तस्य विवरणमस्माभिर्नित्याषोडशिकार्णवोपोद्घाते (पृ० ११७-१९९), विज्ञानभैरवोपोद्घाते (पृ० ३६-३८) च दत्तमिति विशेषजिज्ञासुभिस्तत एवावलोकनीयम् ।

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आधारनाभिहृत्कण्ठाख्य चतुश्चक्रविशिष्टस्य नवद्वारस्य देहस्य (२।५८,६१), नाभिचक्र-हृत्पद्म-कन्दमूल-गलावट-भ्रूमध्य-ब्रह्मरन्ध्राख्यस्थानानाम् (२१।५१), अपान-कण्ठकूप-नाडी-ब्रह्मद्वार-ब्रह्मनाडी-मध्यनाडी-मारुत-शशि-सूर्यप्रभृतिशब्दानां चात्र प्रयोगदर्शनात् कुण्डलिनीयोगस्य प्रारम्भिकं स्वरूपमप्यत्र दृग्गोचरी भवति ।

अन्तर्यजनविधौ मन्त्रात्मकेनैव स्वरूपेण भगवानर्च्यत्वेनात्र निर्दिष्टः । मन्त्रप्रसादादेव साधको भगवतः स्वरूपसाक्षात्कारस्य ईष्टे । तदेवं चित्तशुद्धेः, जीवात्मनः परमात्मना सह संयोगस्य च प्रमुखं साधनं मन्त्र एवात्र समुपदिश्यत इति सात्वतसंहितेयं प्राधान्येन मन्त्रयोगस्य, प्रतिपादिका । अतएव भूयसा प्रपञ्चेन चातुर्व्यूहचतुष्टयादीनां मन्त्राः समुपदिष्टाः । अथापि प्रसङ्गानुसारं तदितरस्यापि शास्त्रान्तरेषु प्रतिपादितस्य योगस्य यत्स्वरूपमत्रोन्मीलितं तदस्मिन् सटिप्पणीके निबन्धे संक्षेपेण व्याख्यातं विदुषां मोदाय भवेदिति शम् ॥

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Helmut EIMER, Bonn :

# TWO SANSKRIT-TIBETAN FRAGMENTS FROM THE BERLIN TURFAN COLLECTION IDENTIFIED

In his publication *Die Tibetica der Berliner Turfansammlung*,[1] Manfred TAUBE describes as text no. 107 two blockprinted fragments which he regards as pieces of one leaf : At the upper margin both fragments show portions of the base of a miniature (a saint or god seated on a lotus throne), below this two lines in *Rañcanā* letters[2] are seen, below this some syllables of a Tibetan text in three and two lines respectively are preserved, at the bottom of the third line a few letters of an Uighur (?) text are visible[3].

In the said book by Manfred TAUBE, plate LXXVI reproduces fragment 107/1 (on the left) and fragment 107/2 (on the right);[4] thus both fragments appear as pieces of one leaf of which but little seems to be missing between the two parts; for on the left side the left margin of the miniature and the beginning of the lines, on the right side the right margin of the miniature and the end of the lines are extant.

In reading the *Rañcanā* letters, one can see that in the first line of fragment 107/2 eight *akṣaras* form a group which is separated from the preceding letters by a small gap. Now, the same phenomenon is noticeable in the first line of fragment 107/1 : A small empty space follows the group of the first eight *akṣaras*. This grouping of letters indicates that we have before us the *pādas* of a Sanskrit verse, presumably in the

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1. *I. e.*, *The Tibetica of the Berlin Turfan Collection*. Published by the Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1980. (*Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients*, Berliner Turfantexte, X.).
2. This is the term adopted by Manfred TAUBE for an ornamental script employed for writing Sanskrit in Tibetan and other Central Asian books. Its other name is Lantsa, *cf.*, *e. g.*, Heather KARMAY, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, Aris and Phillips, Warminster (1975), p. 63.
3. This description follows Manfred TAUBE, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
4. The fragments have been mounted between glass as early as 1924; see Manfred TAUBE, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

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*anuṣṭubh* metre. The Tibetan text that follows is metrical too, as may be seen from the two strokes[5] in the first Tibetan line of fragment 107/2.

It is improbable that in one and the same line first a *pāda,* then an isolated group of letters, and then another *pāda* should occur. On the other hand, if we assume that the letters between the two *pādas* amount to eight, thus forming a third *pāda,* the fragments of the miniature cannot possibly belong together.

The Tibetan text cannot be restored without further help, too much being lost of it. According to the facsimile on plate LXXVI (107/1 : beginning of the lines on the left side; 107/2 : end of the lines on the right side), it reads as under :

*/ /phyag' tshal* .... ............... ...........*pa / / rluṅ hla sna*
*nam m*.................. ......... ................*o ro laṅs dri za*
*mnan te*...........................

In the facsimile of fragment 107/1 the *Rañcanā* letters, which have not been transliterated by Manfred TAUBE, show the following Sanskrit syllables[6] :

*/ / namas tuttārahūṃkāra* ......................................
*saptalokakramā*................... ......................................

The Sanskrit text of fragment 107/2 runs like this :

.................................. *xx* *marudviśveśvarārcite /*
.................................... ...*xxyakṣapuraskṛte / //*

The syllables *tuttāra* in fragment 107/1 indicate that the text contains an invocation of Tārā, because in such invocations *tuttāre* is often met with[7]. Therefore we looked into an old recension of the *Homages to the Twenty-one Tārās*[8] as contained in the tetraglot collection of *dhāraṇīs,*

5. In Tibetan two strokes (*śad*) are used for separating *pādas* or indicating the end of a sentence.

6. Cursive letters indicate a presumptive reading, defective unreadable *akṣaras* are marked by xx.

7. See *e. g.*, Stephan BEYER, *The Cult of Tārā, Magic and Ritual in Tibet*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London (1973), (*Hermeneutics, Studies in the History of Religions,* 1), pp. 201, 208-209, 211-212.

8. Also contained in the Tibetan Kanjur (Derge blockprint, *rgyud 'bum, ca,* 42b3-43b6) under the title *Sgrol ma la phyag 'tshal ñi śu rtsa gcig gis bstod pa phan yon daṅ bcas pa, Namastāre-ekaviṃśatistotraguṇasahita.* A translation of this text is given by Stephan BEYER, *op, cit.*, pp. 211-212.

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*sūtras* and names of the Buddhas printed in 1431.[9] The fifth verse of the Tibetan version of the *Homages to the Twenty-one Tārās* runs in this blockprint[10] as follows :

*| phyag 'tshal tud tā ra hūṃ yi ges |*
*| ' doh daṅ phyogs (2) daṅ nam mkha' gaṅ ma |*
*| 'jig ṛten bdun po zabs kyis (3) mnan te |*
*| lus pa med par 'gugs par nus ma |*

The cursive letters and syllables are found in our fragment 107/1 as well. The textual identity is confirmed by the Sanskrit as preserved in the *Rañcanā* letters[11]. The first Tibetan *pāda* is equivalent to the first Sanskrit *pāda*, and both versions agree in the beginnings of the third *pāda* also.

The pendant of fragment 107/2 is formed by the sixth verse of the *Homages to the Twenty-one Tārās*; in the blockprint of 1431 its Tibetan version reads thus[11]

*| phyag 'tshal brgya byin me lha tshaṅs pa |*
*| rluṅ lha sna (2) tshogs dbaṅ phyug mchod ma |*
*| 'byuṅ po ro laṅs dri za (3) rnams daṅ |*
*| gnod sbyin tshogs kyis mdun nas bstod ma |*

The cursive letters and syllables resemble the wording of fragment 107/2; the second *pāda* and some words of the fourth *pāda* are parallel to the Sanskrit of the *Rañcanā* letters.

Therefore fragments 107/1 and 107/2 cannot be regarded as pieces of one leaf. They originally belonged to a book bound in the Chinese fashion. In this book verses 6 (verso) and 5 (recto) were given on facing pages

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9. This edition is described by Heather KARMAY, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-70: the "Twenty-one Tārās" are studied in Appendix I (pp. 104-111, including a translation). Walther HEISSIG, "Zwei mutmasslich mongolisiche Yüan-Übersetzungen und ihr Nachdruck von 1431", *ZAS*, 10 (1976), pp. 25-32, has edited and translated the Mongolian version.
10. In counting the verses I follow Heather KARMAY, *op, cit.*, numbering the "praise with the basic mantra" (so called by Stephan BEYER, *loc. cit.*.) as zero. Numbers placed in parentheses refer to the lines of the blockprint.
11. The Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the *Homages to the Twenty-one Tārās* have not been compared with each other in full; this should be a task of future investigation.

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as in the blockprint of 1431. The still preserved vertical margins of the miniatures were presumably found near the spine; when the book was opened, fragment 107/1 was on the right and fragment 107/2 on the left side. The few letters in Uighur script cannot be commented upon here. Whether a Chinese version was given on the outer margin, i.e., on the left side of fragment 107/2 and on the right side of fragment 107/1 cannot be seen from the fragments, most probably it was. It is easily possible that the Turfan Collection contains fragments in other languages that agree with the two Sanskrit-Tibetan fragments identified above.

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Ven. L. SIRIDHAMMA, Colombo :

# HUMANISTIC AND SCIENTIFIC ASPECTS OF BUDDHISM

The world today is in urgent need of the priceless and invaluable quality of compassion. Violence, agression, cruelty, bitterness and uncertainty prevail in the hearts and minds of the human race. The sanctity of human life and respect for the individual rights of human beings have been paid scant regard and have almost been thrown to the winds. When we trace the long history of mankind we see a succession of civilizations, empires, dynasties and political systems of many kinds; all rising, flourishing and in the course of time, decaying and giving way to others. This very clearly and lucidly illustrates the doctrine of impermanence taught in Buddhism (*Sabbe Sankhārā Aniccā*)

Buddhism recognises that human beings have something in common by virtue of the fact that they are all subject to insecurity and suffering and at the same time have potentialities of attaining the very highest human existence, which is said to be a rare thing (*dullabham manussattam*) considered to be of the greatest value.

So a radical change of human nature without any further delay is really a necessity for the survival of all human beings. Then who is capable of doing this ? Can modern science or technology do it ? They certainly cannot, for they are the elements which have brought about the present predicament and upheaval for the whole word. There is no doubt that the remarkable development of modern science and technology is one of the biggest achievements for overcoming human agonies and for the attainment of happiness for all mankind. But it is quite obvious that the modern scientific and technological development, devoid of the above mentioned radical inner change, becomes indeed a kind of wild goose' chase.

It is, therefore quite obvions that without a radical inner change, man is incapable of attaining progress in its real sense.

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Thus it is quite obvious that without a radical inner change man is incapable of attaining progress in its real sense. In order to effect this inner revolution through which the outer change as well can be affected, Religions have to respect the 'Humanistic and Scientific Attitude'. In this connection I would prefer to set out here some salient features in the original doctrine of Gotama, the Buddha.

Buddhism does not accept any theory on the basis of mere authority, and it rejects superstitions and prejudices. The early Buddhist texts provide us with evidence about the means of knowledge which the Buddha acknowledged as valid, namely :

(1) Perception (sensory and super-sensory) and

(2) Inductive inference.

In the *Kālāmasutta* (*Anguttara nikāya* I. 189) the Buddha dismisses as unsatisfactory ten types of means of knowledge prevalent during his time which were based on authority and reasoning. He instructs the *Kālāmas* (citizens of Kalama market-town) : "Not to accept anything on the ground of revelation (*anussava*), tradition (*paramparā*), or report (*itikirā*), or because it is in conformity with the Scripture (*piṭakasampadā*), or because it is a product of mere reasoning (*takka-hetu*), or because of a superficial assessment of facts (*ākāraparivitakka*), or because it is true on one stand point (*nayahetu*), or because it conforms with one's pre-conceived notions (*diṭṭhi-nijjāhana-khanti*), or because it is authoritative (*bhavya rūpatā*), or because of the prestige of one's teacher (*samaṇo no guru*).

According to the Buddha, one should also avoid prejudice for (*chanda*) or against (*dosa*) and not allow oneself to be influenced by fear (*bhaya*) or erroneous beliefs (*moha*). And one should avoid one's own likes (*ruci*) and dislikes (*aruci*). Along with the causal conception of phenomena is emphasised the importance of an impartial and objective outlook Truth has to be verifiable (*ehipassika*) in the light of one's own experiences as well as the experiences of other competent observers. This is the reason why the Buddha accepted perception including super-sensory vision and inductive inference as valid means of knowledge.

Buddhism explains everything in terms of causality. This theory of causality is primarily a theory of conditionality (*idappaccayatu*). We frequently find the following formula in the Buddha's sermons :—

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"When this is present that comes to be
From the arising of this, that arises.
When this is absent, that does not come to be
On the cessation of this, that ceases".

This can be put in another way as :—

"If A, then B
When A arises, B arises.
If not A, then not B
When A ceases, B ceases."

This is quite a practical theory based on a scientific method and can be used in explaining things and solving problems : We can take a simple saying of the Buddha to illustrate this :

"From craving springs grief;
(*Taṇhāya jāyati soko*)
From craving springs fear;
*(Taṇhāya jāyati bhayam)*
For him who is wholly free from craving
*(Taṇhāya vippamuttassa)*
There is no grief, whence fear ?"
*(Natthi soko, kuto bhayaṃ ?)*

—*Dhammapada 216.*

Buddhism applies this theory of causality to explain all physical as well as mental phenomena in the Universe This was the unique feature of the Buddha's enlightenment arrived at after a perusal of the various instances of causal happenings, and therefore, is considered to be the 'Central doctrine' of Buddhism. The Buddha himself recognizes the full apprehension of this intricate pattern of causality which functions in various spheres of this Universe as his enlightenment and also as the arising of science in him (*vijjā udapādi*).

The universal applicability of the causal law is upheld in early Buddhism when it uses this causal principle to explain every phenomenon. This causal cosmic principle (*dhammatā*, *dhammaṭṭhitatā*, *dhammaniyāmatā*, *dhammadhātu-Saṁyuttanikāya* II. 25 etc.) has been used to explain the physical, psychological, moral, social and spiritual realms. This is why these spheres have been divided into five groups in which causality is functioning as follows :—

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(1) Physical (inorganic) order *(utu-niyāma)*,

(2) Physical (organic) order *(bīja-niyāma)*,

(3) Psychological „ *(citta-niyāma)*

(4) Moral „ *(kamma-niyāma)* and

(5) Ideal spiritual „ *(dhamma-niyāma)*.

—*Dīghanikāya-Aṭṭhakathā* 2. 432

In short, in the Buddhist system of thought everything in this Universe comes within the framework of causality. Hence it is said that to know causality is to know the truth. Thus the significance of the Buddha's statement "He who perceives causality perceives the *Dhamma* and he who perceives the *Dhamma* sees causality" (*Majjhimanikāya*, 1. 190-1).

As all events are conditional, dealing with the real cause is the direct way of correcting the effect. For this purpose man possesses the necessary effort and freedom of will. He has to act wisely. So man is his own master.

The Buddha introduced the scheme of Four Noble Truths which is based upon the theory of causality for the complete destruction of human sorrow, as :

1. Although life has temporary satisfaction it is not wholly satisfactory, because it is subject to constant change, decay, disease, death and so on *(dukkha-ariyasacca)*.

2. Unsatisfactoriness of the life-process is mainly due to craving (*tanhā*) rooted in ignorance (*avijjā*) *(dukkha-samudaya-ariyasacca)*.

3. Eradication of the craving rooted in ignorance is therefore the real satisfactioriness. That is complete mental peace *(upasama)*, *nibbāna (dukkhanirodha-ariyasacca)*.

4. The means of eradicating the craving rooted in ignorance is following the Noble Eight-fold Path (*ariya aṭṭhaṅgika magga*), that is, right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right alertness and right concentration *(dukkhanirodhagaminīpaṭipadā ariyasacca)*.

In brief, this can be set out as follows :—

1. There is unsatisfactoriness (of life process).
2. Unsatisfactoriness has its cause.

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3. Eradication of the cause is the satisfactoriness.
4. There is an effective means to eradicate the cause or to attain real satisfactoriness.

This principle is to be used in solving the problems of other spheres as well such as social, economic, educational, political and so on.

Uniformity of nature is a causal system which revolves as a wheel without stopping even for two consecutive moments without any agent behind it. The title itself of the Buddha's first sermon '*Dhammac·ıkkap-pavattana*'—'revolving the wheel of things' clearly indicates that meaning The Buddha explains 'wheels of phenomena'. Life process has been described as a wheel of becoming (*bhava-cakka*), which do not possess beginning or end. So even the use of the term *dhamma-cakka* in Buddhism avoids innumerable nets of views *(diṭṭhi jāla)* which baffle the human mind for ever. The theory of causality taught in Buddhism rejects all sorts of extreme views (*anta*) and upholds the middle way (*majjhimā patipadā*). It also advocates the doctrines of impermanence (*anicca*) and non-substantiality (*anatta*) of everything. This scientific aspect of Buddhism is conducive to overcome the unsatisfactoriness of human life without any limitation of time *(akāliko)*.

Though the Buddhist accepts the scientific attitude, he does not want to be dominated by science or technology. A Buddhist like a good humanist would consider man more important then machines. A Buddhist will not accept a style of life which is based on mere material progress, but will accept a philosophy which upholds the full development of man.

Thus a Buddhist combines a scientific attitude with a deep sense of humanism. It is concerned with the problems of man, poverty, social injustice and human suffering. In all these ways, components of the scientific attitude and humanism may be accepted by the Buddhists.

Thus a Buddhist believes in a rounded life-style which is holistic. I would like to mention some significant features here in brief :—

Buddhism admits equality of man and introduces several arguments to prove it.

The Buddhist account of the genesis of man shows that in origin all human beings were alike and what later became caste distinctions were originally due to occupational differences on the part of human beings

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who were all "like unto themselves and not unlike". This anthropological argument is explained in the *Agganna Sutta of the Dīghanikāya.*

Secondly, the *Vāsettha-sutta* sets out the biological argument whereby it is pointed out that although there are different species among plants and animals men constitute one species, despite the minor observable differences in the nature of the hair, the colour of the skin, the shape of the skin, the shape of the head and so on. Therefore divisions of man are merely conventional (*samannā*), Furthermore, the legal, moral, ethical and spiritual arguments have been used to emphasise the equality of man as the division of man would become the major threat for human existence. So whether viewed in the light of anthropological evidence, biological reasons, moral consequences, ethical grounds or spiritual potentialities, man's essential nature is the same. Therefore, men are basically equal in human dignity; they are to be treated equally; they are to be provided with equal opportunities. Though there are differences among men yet they are not concerned with essential human nature. This is the doctrine of equality (*samānattatā*) taught in Buddhism.

The establishment of an ideal society embracing all human beings is one of the two main aims of the whole Teaching of the Buddha. Various suggestions made in order to build up a dynamic and evolutionary forms of society are found in different places in the early Buddhist Texts. The factors spotlighted among the suggestions are moral, educational and economic principles. The *Cakkavattisīhanāda-sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* discusses some essentials of an ideal society. The discourse depicts one human society in the whole world, built upon sound moral and economic principles under a single form of administration. In human history this seems to be the first mention of a world government. Prof. Rhys Davids says in his introduction to the *sutta*, "Never before in the history of the world had this principle been proclaimed in so thorough-going and uncompromising a way" (*Dial.* part III, p. 53).

According to the detailed account given in the discourse a form of world government seems to have been thought desirable mainly for three reasons, namely :—

I. Moral upliftment of all human beings,

II. Equal distribution of wealth among all, and

III. Avoidence of disastrous wars among nations.

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The policy of the world government is described as 'justice and righteousness'.

The ethical basis for all human activities is emphasised in Buddhism. Without compassion (*karunā*) towards all beings which is described as the basis of virtuous life in Buddhism, an ideal society is an impossibility. The man in human history who made a successful effort to create the ideal society described above, at least in one large part of the earth, was none other than the great Emperor Aśoka of India. Records tell us that even animals and birds (*migapakkhī*) had a peaceful life, without fear of being killed, under his administration. He was recognized as the universal ruler not of the whole world but of a continent (*dvīpaccakravartī*).

According to the present situation of the world, without setting up one human society, setting aside narrow and foolish differences (racial, colour, religious and ideolgical), ceasing to spend countless sums of money and human energy for the production of war-weapons in order to kill our fellow human beings, saving millions af human lives from death by starvation, the prevention of rapidly increasing violence, corruption and the subjecting of human beings to inhuman torture in concentration camps seems to be impossible and the extermination of the human race from this earth seems to be inevitable.

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Nitin J. Vyas, Baroda :

# THE CONCEPT OF AHIṀSĀ IN JAINISM

**Introduction :**

The wellknown saying, that the history of man is the history of wars, speaks volumes about the grim aspect of the human nature. Notwithstanding the unprecedented present achievement in all possible spheres of human existence, the final understanding of the futility of wars, a sensitive realization of the unthinkable horrors accompanying these wars and at the same time implementing practical steps as conductive to the avoiding of wars is nowhere in sight. In the process, the very existence of the world is endangered. This goes only to prove that war is not merely an ordinary conflict of mutually monopolised interests, but a human drama with a profound inner meaning.

On the other hand, man's indiscriminate exploitation of the natural environment with the help of astounding technological progress is creating grave problems for man himself. The excessive self-centred material pursuits by man, especially so in the highly industrialised nations strike at the basic harmonious natural equilibrium of the universe and thus leading to alarming health problems for the sentient existence as a whole. Besides, man is indifferent and careless in his dealings with the other sentient creatures of the nature in that they are used as means to his narrow and selfish ends.

It is in the above context of the total human behaviour, the concept of *Ahiṁsā* (non-violence) in its comprehensive understanding assumes paramount importance today. A thorough treatment for the same could be evinced in the Indian tradition and much more so in Jainism. No doubt, although various thinking traditions in the world do accept the significance of non-violence, it is mainly confined to fellow human beings with qualifications. Besides, they do not have the long continuing influence on national character as it is felt in Indian tradition.

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**Ahiṁsā in the Indian Context :**

How and when did this culturally all-pervasive concept of *Ahiṁsā* begin in Indian tradition, is a moot question. However, since time immemorial, the Vedas referred to the word '*ṛta*' to signify the rule and orderliness, harmony and coherence in natural phenomena. This principle was later extended to make judgements of the moral worth of human conduct. Still further, in course of time this principle acquired greater and greater basis until it was construed as "the governing principle of the relation between man and all living beings."[1]

Thus looking historically, it is from the Brahmanic sacrificial tradition of the Vedic times that the concept of non-violence first appeared as a reaction to the wicked and wide-spread killings of animals. For the cult of sacrificce had gradually reduced into a dead mechanical routine, which was intellectually abhoring. The perspective and implication of the concept of *Ahiṁsā* kept on widening slowly and as B.G. GOKHALE rightly surmises that "by the 6th Century B.C. it becomes a vital force in the intellectual life of the country".[2]

As a matter of fact, the concept of not torturing any living being is accepted in the tradition of the Hindus. The *Mahābhārata*[3] regards non-violence as the supreme religion; a pinnacle of penance a towering truth and with it alone, the order prevails. The *Yogasūtra*[4] exhorts that in order to acquire peace, prosperity and well-being in life, one must observe the five restraints namely the non-violence, truth, non-stealing non-indulgence and non-possession.

Thus, since long, *Ahiṁsā* has been regarded as the first step to spiritual progress. Although the practice of *Ahiṁsā* takes a long time to impress its values and implications on others, it strikes at the saving of spirituality in man. Accordingly, the very sacrificial system justified for the religious cause was stoutly denounced by Sāṁkhya, Buddha and Jaina schools of thought. In reality, the doctrine of *Ahiṁsā* has been a common

1. BANERJEE, N. V., *The Spirit of Indian Philosophy*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 290.
2. GOCHALE, B. G., *Indian Thought through the Ages*, Bombay, p. 174.
3. अहिंसा परमो धर्मस्तथाहिंसा परं तपः ।
   अहिंसा परमं सत्यं ततो धर्मः प्रवर्तते ॥
   —*Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparva*, 116-25.
4. तत्राहिंसासत्यास्तेयब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहा यमाः : —*Yogasūtra* 2.30.

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ground in all Indian sects. No doubt, each sect viewed it in different degrees. It was only Jainism and Buddhism, that fully backed the concept of *Ahiṁsā*. Of these two again, the latter accepted *Ahiṁsā*, though fully, but with a reasonable human limitations.

**Ahiṁsā and Jaina Metaphysics :**

Jainism is undeniably the crowning philosophy insofar as the comprehensive understanding of *Ahiṁsā* concerns. It is admitted as the fundamental ethico-religious ideal. This follows as a logical consequence of the ontological nature of things. The reality[5] has an infinite number of characteristics. Thus, as *Ahiṁsā* is to be maintained in conduct, the philosophical ideal of *anekāntavāda* (manysidedness of a thing) is to be established in thought.

It is said in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[6] that every living being has the same soul, all like to live, so none should be avenged and harmed by mind, word and body. According to the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*[7], other living entities have to be treated in the same way as one treats oneself. In other words, the other's view is regarded and respected as much as one's own.

The Jaina metaphysics is dualistic and realistic in nature. On one hand there is material and unconscious reality, on the other hand there is spiritual and conscious world of souls. Everything is of the nature of Being. The nature of Being is such that the production, destruction and continuation take place simultaneously. Hence the reality possesses infinite characteristics. It is in this context that the Jaina epistemology is relativistic and therefore the concept of *anekāntavāda* of thought in Jainism is the basis of *Ahiṁsā* in conduct.

All living entities from the one sense to the five senses being fundamentally equal, infliction of injury on them in any sense whatsoever is decried. The Jaina ethical *summum bonum* of self-realization is possible only in the complete observance of *Ahiṁsā* in thought as well as in conduct. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*[8] states "not to kill anything is the quintess-

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5. अनंतधर्मकं वस्तु ।
6. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* 6.7.
7. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* 1.2, 4.
8. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 1.1.

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nence of wisdom." T. K. N. UNNITHAN and YOGENDRA SINGH[9] maintain that "non-violence occupies the first place, its ethical injunctions and truthfulness follow it in the second place." Again according to K. C. SOGANI,[10] "*Ahiṁsā* is incontrovertibly called the beginning and the end of the Jaina religion."

**Is Complete Ahiṁsā Possible ?**

The problem that comes up in this regard is whether such type of perfect *Ahiṁsā* is possible at all in practical life. A little reflection will enlighten us that man is subject to *hiṁsā* by the very condition of his existence.[11] Philosophically too, the ordinary persons being immature and incomplete, *Ahiṁsā* in full sense is difficult to be observed. Accordingly the practical and worldly followers have less stringent rules in the form of *aṇuvratas*, whereas the ascetics have to observe strictly the rules of *Ahiṁsā* known as *mahāvratas*.

The emphasis mainly is this that even the layman must commit *hiṁsā*, as little is possible, when it is found most unavoidable after much deliberation and exhausting all possible avenues to avoid it. Jainism accounts five kinds of life, based on the number of senses. In its view, the intensity and duration of pain in living entities differs from the increasing number of senses. Notwithstanding the fact that *Ahiṁsā* has nothing to do with bigger or smaller life, any *hiṁsā*, if it is to be done, must be least and to living entities of least senses only. Again, a deliberate and intentional violence with malice and selfish end in view is in no way permitted. In this regard one must conform to the sacred injunctions enjoined by Jaina scriptures or teachers.

**Jainism and the Concept of Hiṁsā :**

Thus it is said in *Tattvārtha Sūtra*[12] that "to take somebody's life through negligence and indifference is *hiṁsā*." Ignorance cannot be an excuse. Violence is defined as "the severance of vitalities out of passion."[13] These vitalities are ten in number, namely, five senses, energy, respiration, life-span, speech and mind.

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9. *Traditions of Non-Violence*, New Delhi, 1973, p. 62.
10. SOGANI, K. C., *Ethical Doctrines of Jainism*, Sholapur, 1967, pp. 41-42.
11. This is how the famous Sanskrit stanza runs : जीवो जीवस्य भोजनम् ।
12. *Tattvārthasūtra* 7.5.
13. MEHTA, M. L., *Jain Culture*, p. 118.

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The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*[14] says "one commits *hiṁsā* when one for the sake of his own life gives troubles to other lives." There are two types of *hiṁsā*. Firstly, violence is inflicted on oneself and secondly, it is inflicted on others. In former, there is first awakening of evil influences (*kaṣāya)* of anger, pride, greed and infatuation. It is the hatred and attachment which gives rise to the subjective and mental *hiṁsā*. When as a result of this one commits injuries on others, it is an objective manifestation of subjective thinking.

It follows that it is in the proportion of *kaṣāya* influence that the intensity of violence as of higher or lower degrees exists. It is evident that more than mere harm at physical level, there is a greater harm in subtle subjective realm, and of course, the measure of *kaṣāya* influences in the injurer could be very well gauged from the indication of some cases of physical harm.

Thus, according to Jainism, there are three ways in which *hiṁsā* is committed. Firstly, one to whom it is directed, secondly, the doer himself, and thirdly, the causes and the factors encouraged in the process of committing violence are also affected. The feeding factors of earthly existence are violence, untruthfulness, dishonesty, unchastity, excessive possession etc. Jainism being a religion, is concerned with liberation, which regarded violence as helping the process of birth and rebirth of worldly life.

**Jainism and the Concept of Ahiṁsā :**

*Ahiṁsā* is considered to be the highest duty in Jainism and it is to be realized progressively. Through three principles of mind, word and deed, one should keep away from committing violence in relation either to oneself, or directed to others and also in the process of encouraging others. This indicates that the philosophy of *Ahiṁsā* is not cold and negative but it is a living and dynamic orientation.

Thus *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*[15] says "victory over hatred and attachment is essential, and this could be done through *ahiṁsā*." This requires that one has to be stable-minded in the dualistic pulls and pressures of life. "Such a one" in the words of *Niyamasāra*,[16] "should conquer wrath with

14. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* 5.3-5, 24.
15. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* 2.89.
16. *Niyamasāra* 8.115.

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forgiveness, pride with humility, treachery with straightforwardness and greed with contentment."

As referred to earlier in the case of the concept of *hiṁsā*, the *Ahiṁsā* too, has two aspects, namely, the subjective and the objective. The four possibilities derived from this are as follows :

1. Subjective *Ahiṁsā* and objective *Ahiṁsā* : This is expected of the ascetic order.

2. Subjective *Ahiṁsā* but not objective *Ahiṁsā* : Some take the vow of non-violence, but unconsciously kill many insects and worms.

3. Subjective *hiṁsā* but objective *Ahiṁsā* : Someone has an intention of injuring someone, but he fails to do so.

4. Neither subjective *Ahiṁsā* nor objective *Ahiṁsā* : Persons with the sheer habit of non-vegetarianism engage themselves in the act of *hiṁsā*. Discrimination is out of question here.

The sustaining factors while trying to observe *Ahiṁsā* are the truth, non-stealing, non-indulgence and non-possession in them is regarded as breach of *Ahiṁsā*.

**Ahiṁsā and Conduct :**

The practice of the rules of right conduct enables one to remove the impurities of the soul. It must be cultivated for obtaining right faith. It is said that "right conduct consists of equanimity, regaining of equanimity, complete non-injury, freedom from subtle passion and passionless conduct."[17] Again, in this context, there is the mention of the word '*pratikramaṇa*', i. e., while reflecting from higher level, one must realize one's faults, carelessness and indifference and should attempt to give them up. Thus it is desired, "I wish to forgive all lives and I too must be forgiven by them."[18]

It is noted above that the two types of conduct are admitted in Jainism. Thus the two householders are not sufficiently advanced to undertake the arduous and austere vows, and they cannot engage them-

17. *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra* IX. 18.
18. *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* 8.

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selves with the auspicious physical states completely. Inspite of the fact that it is only the ascetics who could fully observe the hard and fast rules of the conduct of non-violence whereas the concession allowed to householders does not mean the sacrificing of the spirit of righteousness.

The first five of the twelve observances in *aṇuvratas*, are the famous strictures namely the non-violence, truth, non-stealing, non-indulgence and non-possession. The next three vows namely the *guṇavratas* are the delimiting of desires, being cautious against unnecessary evils etc., helping the keeping of the first five vows. Then, there are four *śikṣthavratas* intended to encourage the performance of the religious duties, namely, the acquiring the state of evenmindness by sitting in meditation, reserving and fixing some days and time for meditation, observing fasts and encouraging the laity to support the ascetic by giving alms, food, water, shelter etc.

**Conclusion :**

After having attempted a synoptic understanding of the concept of *Ahiṁsā* in Jainism, the pertinent issue that concerns is whether the doctrine of non-violence possesses any relevance today. It is argued that the rules and regulations of Jaina philosophy of *Ahiṁsā* are too extremistic and unrealistic. Ideally they are very sound, but in conduct they might be impracticable too. Too much emphasis on the austerities and penance, to the extent of self-mortification, more often than not, kills the real purpose of non-violence.

However, it must be admitted that Jainism has evoked a considerable ethical and cultural impact amongst the people of its origin. No doubt, the vision of *Ahiṁsā* is primarily individual and spiritual, as B. G. GOKHALE[19] rightly maintains that "it is understood more as an ethical concept than a social concept." Hence, it may be said that what is individually possible is not always socially possible.

Despite the above difficulty, however, the fact is evident in the recent history that Mahatma GANDHI carried further the concept of non-violence in its practical manifestation. His conviction in *Ahiṁsā* was unique and phenomenal. To him *Ahiṁsā* is a dynamic condition of conscious suffering. He speaks of it as "an active form of good will."[20]

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19. GOKHALE, B. G., *Indian Thought Through the Ages*, p. 182.
20. MAHATMA GANDHI, *Hindu Dharma*, Ahmedabad, 1949, p. 186.

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This calls for uttermost selflessness and detachment from narrow ends of life. How GANDHI's awakening in *Ahiṁsā* aimed and struggled against political, social, economic and religious injustices, is a great saga in itself and he stands as a lighthouse to all of us.

The belief that violence is a built in genetic factor and inbred in the human blood needs an inevitable revision. The comprehensive understanding and application of the concept of non-violence has to contribute much to the various problems of the world.

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Rasik Vihari JOSHI, Mexico :

# METHODS OF VEDIC INTERPRETATION IN THE WEST

The problem of the meaning of the Vedic vocabulary and the question of interpreting the Vedic terminology has been a cardinal point of discussion before the commentators of the Vedas during past several centuries. The main reason for the obscurity of Vedic language is that it belongs to a remote past and even as early as the seventh century B. C., during the period of Yāska, it had become difficult to ascertain a definite meaning of Vedic language and at times it was considered obscure. We come across profuse symbols and technical terms in the Vedic language. Since the exact meaning of these symbols had become obscure in course of time and since even the tradition in India had not remained intact, the Vedic language, by and by, became unintelligible. This is well-known that the hymns of the Vedas, primarily contain, prayers and eulogies of the Vedic seers in respect of Vedic deities. To maintain, that the Vedic seers purposely composed these hymns with obscure vocabulary, does not appeal logically sound. This, however, appears more logical that due to our lack of understanding these smybols, we do not correctly understand the meaning of the Vedas. The first application of the Ṛgvedic *mantras* was done in the injunctive prescriptions of the sacrificial rituals. It may, therefore, be inferred that the injunction of ritual application of the Ṛgvedic *mantras* along with the Yajurvedic *mantras* was perhaps the first attempt to understand the meaning of the Vedic language. In spite of the fact the modern scholars, oriental and occidental, are not prepared to accept that the composition of the Ṛgvedic *mantras* was done in view of the ritual application as prescribed in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts in the post-Ṛgvedic period, the view that the *mantras* were composed in order to chant during sacrificial performances, also does not sound logically good. This, however, cannot be denied that alongwith the development of sacrificial science (*yajña-vidyā*) several such new rituals might have developed which probably did not exist at the time of the composition of the *Ṛgveda*, and by and by they became connected with Ṛgvedic *mantras*.

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Thus it is obvious that the original meaning of the Ṛgvedic *mantras* was forgotten. This problem had become a burning problem of discussion even in the period of Yāska (7th century B. C.) and there was a big question-mark before the commentators of the Vedas. Pointing out this problem, Yāska clearly declared in his *Nirukta* that he, who does not understand the meaning of the Vedas, simply carries a burden on his head. He, who knows the full meaning of the Vedas, achieves all good.[1]

It has been unanimously accepted by all modern scholars that the followers of the *Nirukta* tradition were the first commentators of the Vedas who had advocated the principles of deciding the meaning of the Vedas only after the etymological method (*nirvacana-prakriyā*). We may recall that the first Vedic dictionary entitled "*Nighaṇṭu*" registered all obscure and difficult synonyms of the Vedic words. The *Nirukta* of Yāska, being a commentary of the *Nighaṇṭu*, is held in Indian tradition as the most important instrument in deciding the meaning of the Vedas. I should like to observe that this method of Vedic interpretation is linked with the conservative approach being based on etymological method alone and therefore cannot be considered as most authentic, all-round and comprehensive method of Vedic interpretation. It may further be mentioned that the *padapātha* of Sākalya, containing grammatical connotation on the Ṛgvedic vocabulary, is also equally useful and meaningful aid for Vedic interpretation. The utility of the *Sarvānukramaṇī* of Kātyāyana can also not be denied, since it makes explicit reference to the deity, *mantra* and *ṛṣi* of each hymn. Needless to doubt that all ancient Indian Vedic commentators had certainly made full use of the *padapāṭha*, the *Nirukta*, and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* while deciding the meaning of the Vedas. Although there had been several ancient Indian commentators of the *Ṛgveda* such as Udgītha yet the most distinguished commentator was Sāyaṇācārya whose full commentary on the *Ṛgveda* is available even today. Sāyaṇāoārya was not only familiar with the *padapāṭha*, the *Nirukta* and the *Sarvānukramaṇī* but was also familiar with the works on Vedic ritual (*Karma-Kāṇḍa*). Therefore, the commentary of Sāyaṇa primarily explained the rituals of Vedic sacrifices and could legitimately be called the ritualistic commentary of the *Ṛgveda*.

The study of the Vedic literature began in the West about two hund-

1. *Sthāṇurayaṁ bhārahāraḥ kilābhūdadhītya vedaṁ na vijānāti yo'rtham | yo'rtajñaḥ it sakalaṁ bhadramaśnute |* —*Nirukta I. 18.*

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red fifty years ago. During this period, the western scholars thoroughly studied the entire Vedic literature; critical editions, annotated translations into English, French and German languages of hundreds of texts of Vedic literature; their expositions, indices, concordances, dictionaries were prepared. It is neither possible nor necessary to name all these scholars and their works. I shall confine myself in this article to the most distinguished western Vedic scholars, specially French works, the analysis of which will give us an insight to understand their method and approach in deciding the meaning of the Vedas.

The story of the study of Sanskrit in the West began more than two centuries ago. In 1718 A.D., BIGNON, the librarian at the Royal College of Paris, purchased the chief Indian literary works, basic works of Sanskrit grammars and dictionaries. CALMETTE procured the copies of the *Ṛgveda*, the *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda* from south India. In 1731 A.D., Jesuit BESCHI sent copies of the *Ṛgveda*, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* to Paris. PONS collected the principal works of classical Sanskrit literature, Epics, the *Purāṇas*, Sanskrit grammar, poetics, *Vedānta* and *Navya-Nyāya* from Bengal. PONS also prepared a systematic catalogue of Sanskrit works, in consultation with some traditional Pandits in Calcutta, having 168 entries. He learnt Sanskrit and wrote a Sanskrit grammer in Latin with the help of the Latin translation of the *Amarakoṣa*. In 1739 A.D., the first catalogue of Sanskrit literature was published in Paris. In 1740 A.D., PONS gave a comprehensive report on all aspects of Sanskrit literature. I should like to make a reference to an Indian Tamil scholar Mari Das PILLAY of Pondicherry, who knowing French and Latin, provided valuable information to several French-Indologists in respect of Sanskrit literature. The Tamil translation of *Srīmād Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa* by Mari Das PILLAY was sent to Paris for publication, wherein Joseph DEGUIGNE immediately recognised a dynasty of Indian rulers since Parīkṣit. It was he who identified Sandragotten (Candragupta) with Sandrakottos of Greek. The synchronism of Indian chronology was published in the *Memoire de l'Academic des Inscriptions et Belles Letters* in Paris. The same was later on popularised by Sir William JONES.

In the begining of the nineteenth century, Auguetil DUPERRON published the French translation of fifty *Upaniṣads* from their Persian version of Dara Shikoh. About the same time, the Asiatic Society of Bengal became a prominent centre of Sanskrit studies and courses on

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Indian languages were opened in England. Here I wish to make a special mention of Alexander HAMILTON, an English naval officer who came to study the vast material of Sanskrit manuscripts and became a war prisoner. HAMILTON was the only man in Europe at that time who knew Sanskrit. As a war prisoner in Paris HAMILTON prepared a new catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts and taught Sanskrit to many students and lovers of Sanskrit, noteworthy among them is a German scholar Friederich SCHLEGEL, one of the founders of Indological studies in Germany.

The first full chair of Sanskrit studies in Europe was established in Paris in 1814 A. D. and was occupied by a French Iranist A. L. DE CHEZY who learnt Sanskrit without any teacher, simply with the help of PONS' grammar, *Amarakośa* and WILKINS' translation of the *Hitopadeśa.* DE CHEZY had the fortune to be the Guru of several great pupils, including the distinguished German scholar BOPP who laid the foundation of comparative philology of Indo-European languages. Deslong champs, the editor of the *Manusmṛti* and the *Amarakoṣa* was another noted student of DE CHEZY. LANGLOIS prepared the first complete French translation of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Harivaṁśa*. The greatest of all the students of DE CHEZY was Eugene BURNOUF. Jean Louis BURNOUF, the father of Eugene BURNOUF was an eminent Hellenist and Latinist. Eugene BURNOUF studied Sanskrit with DE CHEZY and became professor of Sanskrit and ancient Indian philology, succeeding his teacher DE CHEZY, at an extremely young age of thirtyone years. He was a scholar of prodigious industry. He mastered many languages and several branches of learning. In 1826 A. D., when Pāli was completely unknown in Europe, BURNOUF published "An Essay on Pāli" in collaboration with a young Norwegian scholar Christian LASSAN. Eugene BURNOUF was the first western scholar who drew attention of scholars towards the comparative study of Veda and *Avesta* for the proper understanding of the meaning of the Veda. He published his monumental work entitled *A Commentory on Yasna* with the help of the French translation of *Avesta* by DUPPERRON and the Sanskrit translation by Nerio SINGH. BURNOUF pointed out a close similarity between the vocabulary of the Vedic and Avestic literary documents, such as the *yasna* of *Avesta* and *yajña* of the *Ṛgveda,* he said, were equivalent terms. The archaic Vedic literature remained rather unexplored for over a century in Paris. Eugene BURNOUF utilized the Vedic literature, Pāṇinian grammar and comparative philology to interpret the Vedas. In fact, he was the first European scholar who challenged and discarded the method of Vedic interpretation as advocated by ancient

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Indian Sanskrit commentators *(bhāṣyakāras)* and announced his own new method of comparative philology along scientific principles. Eugene BURNOUF was a versatile scholar, a genious and was equally fortunate to be the Guru of several great scholars like his own Guru DE CHEZY. Since he was a scholar of both Vedic and Iranian languages, he was soon able to trace the similarities between the words of these two languages. The method of Vedic interpretation as advocated by Eugene BURNOUF was warmly welcomed in Europe. In many European countries, centres of Indo-Iranian studies and Indo-Iranian philology were established. It was only on account of this method of Vedic interpretation and the striking results of the researches of Eugene BURNOUF that in western countries such as France, Germany, Holland and U.S.A., the scientific study of the Vedas was pursued in comparison with *Avesta*. Thus, Eugene BURNOUF, in fact, expanded Sanskrit studies in the West with special reference to Vedic interpretation and was primarily responsible for the establishment of ths seats of Indo-Iranian philology and linguistics in Europe. He also devoted himself to the study of Indian Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism. His interest in Vaiṣṇavism is obvious by his French translation of the *Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa* in ten huge folio volumes, in the preparation of which he devoted himself for a period of twenty years.[2]

Among some of the most distinguished students of Eugene BURNOUF, mention may be made to ROTH, MAX MÜLLER, REGNIER, NEVE and GOLDSTÜCKER. All these young scholars came to Paris to study sanskrit with this great French Guru.

In 1846, ROTH published his first small but valuable monograph on Vedic interpretaiton[3] at the age of 25 years, and initiated a new school of

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2. (a) V. RAGHAVAN, *Indological Studies Abroad*, Delhi, 1956.
   (b) Jean FILLIOZAT, "Indological Studies in France", *Indian Studies Abroad*, New Delhi, 1964.
   (c) R. N. DANDEKAR, *Vedic Rdligion and Mythology*, Poona, 1965.
   (d) R. V. JOSHI, "Videśeṣu Sanskritādhyayanam," *Sāgarikā*, VI. 1, Sagar, 1967.
   (e) Louis RENOU, *Bibliographie Vedic*, Paris, 1938.
   (f) R. N. DANDEKAR, *Vedic Bibliography* (3 Vols.), Poona.
   (g) *Sanskrit Studies in G. D. R.*, Part I (Report), Part II (Bibliography), Berlin 1979.

3. ROTH, *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda*, Stuttgart, 1846.

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critical Vedic interpretation. The monograph actually dealt with the contents of the Vedic *Saṁhitās*, the *Prātiśākhya* texts and a brief history of the *Ṛgveda*. Inspite of the shortcoming of the availability of basic Sanskrit texts, ROTH's writing such an important monograph was undoubtedly an assimilation of the learned lectures of Eugene BURNOUF he had the previledge to follow in Paris and also a result of examining the large collection of Sanskrit manuscripts at Paris. There were only three notable publications available to ROTH : (1) COLEBROOKE's *Essay on the Vedas* (1805), (2) ROSEN's edition of the *Ṛgveda* (only *prathama aṣṭaka*), (3) STEVENSON's edition of the *Sāmaveda*. ROTH did not approve of the authenticity and approach of STEVENSON's edition. By and by ROTH became deeply interested in Vedic interpretation. He opined that for the correct understanding of the history of India, the study of the Vedas was of utmost importance. He, therefore, ransacked the contents of the *Ṛgveda* and declared, on the basis of textual and philological studies, that the *Ṛgveda* did not simply represent theology and liturgy. According to ROTH the ancient Sanskrit commentaries were not sufficient enough to solve the obscurity of Vedic interpretation because all these Indian commentators lacked in the sense of historicity. He rejected the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya and propogated his method of Ṛgvedic exegesis which must find out its own way to interpret the Vedic hymns. He advocated that one should keep in mind all related Vedic passages together to get the real meaning of a deity. He dealt with Vedic mythology and religion in his valuable essays; (1) "Die Brahma-Religion" and (2) "Die Ormuzd Religion". He regarded Varuṇa as a brilliant heap of lustre of the sky. Let us remember that this great sky-god was the supreme god of Aryans before they separated from the Iranians and according to ROTH this sky-god was fully overthrown in the *Ṛgveda*. ROTH identified Varuṇa of the *Ṛgveda* with the Ahura Mazda of *Avesta* and Ādityas with Amesha-spents. Needless to say that his critical edition of the *Nirukta* of Yāska and his famous *St. Petersburg Sanskrit-German Dictionary* are sufficient enough to single him out as a great Vedic scholar in the West.[4]

Second student of Eugene BURNOUF was Alolphe REGNIER who adopted Vedic grammar as the main instrument for Vedic interpretation. He did not publish much. His only publication entitled *Etude sur l'idiome des Vedas et les origines de la Langue Sanscrite* (Paris, 1855) was the first

4. R. N. DANDEKAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

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detailed study on the Vedic language from the point of view of structural analysis.

Third student of BURNOUF was Felix NEVE who adopted the methodology of comparative mythology and included Sanskrit text with Sāyaṇa's commentary and French translation of the Ṛbhu-hymns of the *Ṛgveda*.[5]

NEVE's approach to Vedic interpretation drew attention of several eminent Vedic scholars in Europe. A KÜHN who is considered the father of comparative mythology, strongly supported NEVE's method. KÜHN made some improvement on NEVE's method and based his approach of Vedic interpretation on three factors. First he declared that Indo-European has many things in common such as language, religion, mythological elements, customs and manners. Secondly, he opined that the etymology of the names of Vedic gods was most helpful for the understanding of comparative mythology and comparative religion. Thirdly, he maintained that Vedic gods in general were personifications of natural phenomena and these natural phenomena were mostly, for KÜHN, meteorological ones. Keeping these three factors in mind, KÜHN began his studies in the field of comparative linguistics and constructed the epitome of the antiquity-palace of Indo-European languages group with special reference to Vedic Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. On the basis of common material in respect of legends, he declared that Indo-European had a common pantheon of god and common mythology and pointed out a number of etymological and mythological similarities. I may mention that these etymological similarities are, however, now considered obsolete. KÜHN firmly advocated that Vedic mythology was a part of Indo-European mythology. He always regarded *Ṛgveda* as a secondary source material for Indo-European comparison. This outlook rather forced him to make over comparisons. For example, he traced the counterparts of Saraṇyu and Sārameya in Erinys and Hermeis, Uṣas in Brunhild, Ṛbhus in Greek Orpheus and also in Germanic Elben, and Gandharva with Kentauren. He made studies of several Vedic legends from the point of view of comparative mythology. Noteworthy are his studies of the legends of Cyavana, Purūravā, and cows in Indo-Germanic mythology.[6]

5. Felix NEVE, *Essai Sur le Myth des Ṛbhavas*, Paris, 1847.
6. A. KÜHN, *Die Herabkunft des Feures und des Göttertranks*, Gütersloh, 1859.

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Fourth student of Eugéne BURNOUF was Christian LASSEN from Norway. He was a friend and contemporary of ROTH. Obviously, therefore, he was deeply impressed by the methodology of ROTH which is evident from his treatment of the Ṛgvedic gods. We come across many a false or rather disputable etymologies in his writings.[7]

He, however, later on gave up ROTH's school and switched over to the school of KÜHN and accepted the method of comparative mythology.

The most distinguished student of Eugene BURNOUF was Friedrich MAX MÜLLER who studied Sanskrit language and grammar, Veda and *Avesta* at Paris University. At the instance of the French Guru, MAX MÜLLER undertook the gigantic task of editing the *Ṛgveda* with the monumental commentary of Sāyaṇācārya at the age of 23 years. In those days, it was not easy to publish such a technical work. Funds for the publication of the *Ṛgveda* were, however, made available by the East India Company and this excellent edition of the *Ṛgveda* was published during a long period of 25 years (1849-1874). MAX MÜLLER also edited 25 volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East* series, but his only contribution in the field of Vedic exegesis was his English translation of the Maruts' hymns.

MAX MÜLLER's main interest, however, grew in Vedic religion. In 1878, in London he declared in 'Hibbert Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion' that the history of mankind must be traced in religion and that the best understanding of the origin and development of religion was preserved in Indian sources. He categorically rejected the methodology to study Vedic mythology as independent of Vedic religion. For him history of religion carried more weight than the history of linguistics. Therefore, he preferred to apply psychological method to the study of Vedic religion. He maintained, that there are three types of perceptible objects: *viz.* (a) Tangible objects such as stones and bones which served as the earliest objects of worship. He asserted that fetishism was not the primary form of religion and it was unknown to *Ṛgveda*; (b) Semi-tangible objects snch as mountains, rivers, trees, earth and sea–all of them are traceable among Vedic deities; (c) Intangible objects such as sky, sun, moon, dawn and stars. MAX MÜLLER concluded that Vedic Aryans visualised divinities only in the above mentioned second and third categories.

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7. Christian LASSEN, *Indische Altertumskunde*, Bonn, 1847.

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To interpret the Vedas, MAX MÜLLER followed the method of comparative religion and comparative mythology. His method was based on three principles, *viz.* (1) There was a common Indo-European pantheon of gods and mythology, (2) Mythology was a natural phenomena, (3) Etymology of the names of Vedic gods was helpful in understanding their character and in establishing a link with Indo-European mythology. On the basis of these principles, he accepted identification between Dyu-Nisand Dionysos, Sārameyau and Hermeisas, Saramā and Helena, Saraṇyū and Erinnys. He also supported other linguistic and mythological equations such as Dyauḥ and Zeus, Nakta and Nyx, Agni and Ignis, Varuṇa and Ouranos, Uṣas and Eos, Vāta and Wotan, Vāk and Vox, and Brahman and Latin Varbum. He further asserted that Italian war-god Mars originated from Vedic Maruts, Prometheus was a counterpart of Pramantha. Let us remember that parallel to his approach of comparative mythology and comparative religion, his main approach to the study of Vedic religion was naturalistic. Therefore, he declared that all Vedic gods with exception of the visible ones such as sun, moon, and sky were metamorphised. Thus each Vedic god was given a name denoting some characteristic of the nature of that god. For example Indra (the rainer) from *Indu* to drop, Rudra (the howler) and Varuṇa (the all-encompasser). I may mention that these etymologies, given by MAX MÜLLER, are now not accepted as valid by many scholars. While interpreting Vedic religion; MAX MÜLLER neither accepted polytheism nor monotheism. He proclaimed henotheism in the *Ṛgveda*. It may he recalled that in polytheism other gods were subordinated to one supreme god, while in henotheism, belief in a single supreme god was prominent. The Vedic poets, while invoking one god after another, completely forgot all other gods. We come across syncretism when Vedic poets identify Indra, Varuṇa and Agni, but there is clear henotheism when each one of them is invoked separately as the only god in existence, i.e., with complete forgetfulness of all other gods. Moving through dual Vedic gods such as Mitrā-Varuṇā to all gods collectively such as Viśve-devāḥ, MAX MÜLLER pointed out three stages of the development of the concept of Vedic gods; (1) polytheism, (2) monotheism, (3) atheism. He, thus, concluded that the Ṛgvedic hymns represented the early childhood of Vedic religion, the *Brāhmaṇa* texts manhood and the *Upaniṣad* its mature old age.[8] During

8. (a) MAX MÜLLER, *Hibbert Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, London, 1878.
(b) R. N. DANDEKAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-11.

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tne second-half of the 19th century and the first-half of the 20th century, Europe became a very prominent centre of Vedic studies. Both the French and the German indologists made a landmark in the field of Vedic interpretation.

Abel BERGAINE is regarded as second BURNOUF in French tradition of indological studies. He rejected the linguistic and lexican approach to Vedic interpretation as laid down by ROTH and GRASSMANN and propagated that Vedic vocabulary should be explained in such a way that could be applied to all places wherever that occurred in the *Ṛgveda*. He also rejected the method of comparative mythology as proposed by MAX MÜLLER and KÜHN and adhered to explain Vedic mythology from the *Ṛgveda* itself. BERGAIGNE opined that Vedic mythology was related to Vedic sacrificial ritual which was simply a symbolic imitation of two phenomena, viz., (1) solar, (2) meteorological. These phenomena represented the sunrise and rainfall respectively. BERGAIGNE visualised male and female elements behind these phenomena. In the solar element, the sun and dawn represented male and female aspects, while in second meteorological element male and female aspects were represented by lightning and cloud. He traced both these male and female elements in Vedic mythology among the beings of two sexes : human or animal. Keeping this standpoint in view, he interpreted Vedic ritual, stating that in a sacrificial peformance the fire is the male element and oblation is female element. It is thus obvious from his approach that he considered Vedic mythology as a naturalistic one. He, therefore, asserted that Vedic mythology revolved round sunrise and thunder; Vedic gods were simply masks covering natural powers; and Vedic poets used rhetoric between the reality and mask. He classified Vedic mythology in two tendencies, viz., (1) dualistic, (2) unitarian. The dualistic tendency was clearly explained by him in 'Indra-Vṛtra' mythology where both 'good and bad' were involved in one god. BERGAIGNE included that the Ṛgvedic poetry was basically naturalistic and liturgical and therefore it threw ample light on Vedic mythology and religion. Hence, Vedic mythology must be studied keeping in mind the Vedic religion.[9]

It was A. BARTH who added new ideas to the researches of BERGAI-

9. (a) Abel BERGAIGNE, *La Religion Vedic d' apres les hymns du Ṛgveda*, Paris, 1878-83.
(b) Jean FILLIOZAT, *op. cit.*
(c) R. N. DANDEKAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19.

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GNE. He pointed out that the *Ṛgveda* was sacerdotal in character and it did not represent the entire structure of Vedic religious poetry. He also asserted that parallel to the Vedic religion, popular religious cults were certainly prevalent in ancient India, out of which arose Vaiṣṇavaism and Śaivaism.[10]

Mention must he made to P. REGNAUD who initiated his own method of Vedic interpretation. On one side, he outrightly rejected the methodology of Vedic interpretation as advocated by the majority of western Vedic scholars, and on the other side, he rejected the entire post-Ṛgvedie literature as well as Indian commentaries. He declared that both these methods were extreme methods and therefore misleading. Hc vehemently criticised the western Vedic scholars who often tended to underestimate the antiquity of the *Ṛgveda*. Following the approach of BERGAIGNE, REGNAUD maintained that there was no continuity of tradition between the *Ṛgveda* and the post-Ṛgvedic literature. The gulf of time was rather very wide. Therefore, the readings and the vocabulary of the *Ṛgveda* was not certain and the large quantity of Vedic words simply meant 'nourishment'. He proposed several new etymologies of Vedic words, rejecting the previously acceptcd ones. For example '*Ājya*' did not mean 'battle' to him but 'nourishment'; '*pṛṣṭha*' did not mean 'back' to him but 'liquid', and so on. He did not leave any stone unturned to establish, through etymological method, that there was neither invocation to gods nor mythology in the *Ṛgveda* but only sacrificial rituals. He gave entirely new interpretation of several Ṛgvedic hymns. For example, while translatings Uṣas hymns (*RV* I. 123, 124) he rejected the previous meaning of Uṣas hymns in the sense of sun and dawn and explained that Uṣas was a symbol of offering, flame of fire and liquid Soma. He opined that all Ṛgvedic hymns were mostly connected with Agni and Soma. He explained Soma not as a drink prepared from a plant but as an oil which nourished sacrificial fire.[11]

Let us remember that BERGAIGNE, through his researches and valuable criticirm on the *Ṛgveda*, had freed Indian philology from hypothetical and mythological approaches. His researches on the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* and

10. A. BARTH, *Les Religions de l' Inde*, Paris, 1879.
11. (a) P. REGNAUD, *Le Ṛgveda el les origines de la Mythologie Indo-Européenne*, Paris, 1892.
(b) R. N. DANDEKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

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Vedic Religion inspired Sylvain LEVY who proved to be another great French savant. Sylvain LEVY was a student of BERGAIGNE. He was interested in his initial years, in exploration of Vedic literature which is obvious from his work *La doctrine du sacrifice de los Brāhmaṇas*, but gradually he became interested in Indian dramaturgy, Greater Indian studies, Buddhism, Chinese and Tibetan studies.

Jules BLOCH studied Sanskrit with Sylvain LEVY and linguistics with MELLET. His approach to Vedic intepretation was linguistic. On one side he worked on the description of Indo-Aryans from the time of the *Ṛgveda* to modern times, and on the other side he devoted himself to the formation of Marathi and grammatical structure of Dravidian languages.

Name of Louis RENOU is regarded in French tradition as third from BURNOUF. He was a great scholar of Vedic literature, Pāṇinian grammar and *Avesta*. He adopted the method of grammatical analysis and Indo-Iranian comparison to understand the meaning of the Veda. RENOU was a prolific writer. His *E'tudes Vedique et Pāṇinian* (in several fascicules), *Bibliographie Vedique, Vocabularie Vedique* and *Vṛtra* are worth-mentioning.

The contribution of German indologists was in no way inferior to that of French indologists in the field of Vedic interpretation. In Germany, A. WEBER and A. LUDWIG were pioneer great Sanskritists. WEBER's interests ran through Vedic religion and mythology to classical Sanskrit literature, Prakrit and Jainism. He started a research journal—*Indische Studien*—in 1850. We may recall that *Journal Asitatique*, the first research journal entirely devoted to oriental studies in Europe, was started in Paris in 1822. WEBER prepard critical edition of a number of Vedic texts, such as the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* with the commentary of Mahīdhara, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* with extracts from old Indian Sanskrit commentaries, the *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* with extracts from Karkācārya and Yājñikadeva's commentaries, the *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda* etc. WEBER, thus, made available critical editions of several basic texts of Vedic literature. He did not advocate any original method to interpret the Vedas. We, however, come across in his Journal his studies of Vedic legends such as 'Manu and Deluge', 'Purūravā and Urvaśī', etc.

To understand the nature and characteristics of Vedic gods, WEBER mainly depended on the etymological method. He identified 'Aśvinau' with Gemini stars and 'Nāsatyau' he explained as 'like-nose' or 'like-

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island' in the ocean of morning sky. His astronomical approach, however, later on became controversial.

A LUDWIG was Professor of Sanskrit at the German University of Prague (1837-1912), Czechoslovakia; LUDWIG and GRASSMANN more or less simultaneously translated the *Ṛgveda* into German language, the approach of both these scholars was, however, very different. LUDWIG'S work was, indeed, most comprehensive. His translation of the *Ṛgveda* in six volumes (1875-88) was not a simple translation but it included critical introduction, exhaustive study of Vedic mythology and religion. I may mention that this valuable edition of *Ṛgveda* had become indispensable in Europe for any student interested in Vedic studies, during that period. LUDWIG made advancement on the researches of ROTH and MAX MÜLLER by adding new interpretative material on the meaning of Vedic words such as *ṛtam* and *satyam*, *brahman* and *māyā*. He rejected the theory of Varuṇa-Ouranos identity and declared Dyauḥ as sky-god in place of Varuṇa.

GRASSMANN was a high school teacher of Mathematics, but he devoted his whole life to the study of the Vedas and prepared a German translation of the *Ṛgveda*, published from Leipzig in 1876-77, and published a *Vedic Dictionary* in 1872.

As already pointed out, the Vedic researches of BERGAIGNE prompted several scholars in Europe to undertake deeper and longer studies on the Vedas. A. KAEGI was much inspired by BERGAIGNE. He, however, belonged to the school of ROTH and followed ROTH'S method in respect of Vedic exegesis. He maintained that the *Ṛgveda* was 'the primer intellectual monument of our race'.[12] To him the *Ṛgveda* was primarily concerned with the glorification of gods who were personified natural phenomena.[13]

BRUNNHOFER rejected ROTH'S method of Vedic interpretation. He suggested a method of phonetic similarities and believed that material connected with the oldest history of Indian Vedic Aryans was outside India.

He connected several names of places and persons occurring in the *Ṛgveda* with similar names in Iran simply on the basis of phonetic simi-

12. R. N. Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
13. A. KAEGI, *Der Rigveda die alteste litterature der Inder*, Leipzig, 1878.

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larities. BRUNNHOFER gave a long list of Vedic words with their Iranian and Turanian equivalents. For example, Dṛbhīka of *Ṛgveda* and Derbiks of Iranian family, Nahuṣa of *Ṛgveda* and Naqa of Persian, Agastya of *Ṛgveda* and Asharagata of old Persian, Kārotī river referred to in the *Śatapatha* and Haraquati of Iran etc. The methodology of BRUNNHOFER was rejected by several scholars on the basis of the logic that it was unscientific. His phonetic equations were considered unsound, specially his bold suggestions such as Vavri of *Ṛgveda* and Bawri of Babylon.[14]

A. HILLEBRANDT was another notable German Vedic scholar who belonged to the French school of Vedic Interpretation and followed the method of BERGAIGNE that Vedic mythology and Vedic sacrificial cult were inseparable. He was a very sound scholar of Vedic ritual and as a result of his scholarship he was able to make advancement on Vedic mythology as related to Vedic ritual. His main philosophy of Vedic interpretation was that the Vedas should he interpreted as much as possible from within the Vedas and not from without. He, therefore, adopted the interpretative methodology from the point of view of Vedic philology.[15] He firmly believed in his own point of view and in spite of severe criticism of several contemporary scholars, he did not make any change in the second edition of his *Vedische Mythologie* published after 25 years. He, however, agreed that there was evidence in the eighth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda* regarding its origin in the North-West of India and that this portion was more close to *Avesta* than post-Ṛgvedic literature. He completely rejected the etymological method to explain Vedic mythology on the simple ground that the etymologies were mostly uncertain and as such could not correctly explain the nature of Vedic gods.

HILLEDRANDT accepted that Vedic gods were personified natural phenomena but did not accept that their characteristics could he determined by the etymology of their names. He did recognize ancestor-worship in Vedic mythology but did not accept abstract deities in the *Ṛgveda*. He advocated that Vedic Aryans were influened by natural forces such as sun moon, storm and weather. He constantly asserted that moon was the centre of Vedic mythology and sun occupied a subordinate position. For his constant insistence on moon, he became famous as 'Moon-Mythologist'. In fact, the major part of his research was centred round Soma

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14. BRUNNHOFER, *Iran und Turan*, Leipzig, 1889.
15. HILLEBRANDT, *Vedische Mythologie* (3 vols.), Bresleau, 1891-1902.

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as moon. He explained Soma, as a plant, a symbol of luminary and subsequently moon. He explained Agni as the fire-form of moon, Bṛhaspati as the nectar-form of moon, lightning and submarine-fire as aspects of moon. Even Varuṇa, he declared as moon-god. He interpreted the three Vedic fires in his framework of moon mythology, stating that the first fire *āhavanīya* represented sun and square fire-place heaven, the second fire *gārhapatya* represented terrestrial fire and the circular fire-place earth, and the third fire *dakṣiṇā* represented aerial fire and the semi-circle fire-place moon.

OLDENBERG also belonged to the French school of Vedic interpretation, initiated by BERGAIGNE and HILLEBRANDT and fully recognised the value of Vedic rituals for the comprehension af Vedic religion and mythology. This is obvions from his outstanding book *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894). Let us recall that while BERGAIGNE was confined to a deeper study of the *Ṛgveda* alone, OLDENBERG devoted himself to the study of the entire Vedic literature, for he believed that the post-Ṛgvedic literature explaining the ritual application was most helpful to understand the Ṛgvedic hymns. Accepting the naturalistic approach to Vedic mythology, OLDENBERG propogated that higher Vedic gods certainly belonged to Indo-European but due to a long lapse of time many changes came in between prototypes and counterparts, some original elements were forgotten and new elements were introduced. He maintained that original elements of Vedic mythology could be traced in Vedic rituals. Likewise, he accepted the method of comparative mythology and the origin of Vedic gods in Indo-European. He opined that Vedic religion was primarily Indian in character, inspite of the fact that it was related in ancient time to old Iranian and Indo-European religions. He rejected the etymological approach, particalarly the identification based on simple apparent phonetic equations. He argued that Indo-Iranians had a clear concept of Sūrya (Sun-god) and Candra (Moon-god). The question, therefore, naturally arose wherefrom they took the idea of two additioned gods, viz., Mitra (Iranian Mithra) as sun-god and Varuṇa as moon-god. He found the answer of this question in the neighbouring Babylonians. It may be recalled in this connection that the Vedic Aryans as well as the Avestan Iranians were not as much interested in the study of planets as the Babylonians who had a group of gods representing sun, moon and planets. He argued that the Babylonian concept of moon-god was most akin to the Indian concept of Varuṇa and that Indo-Iranians, in all probabilty, have taken this concept from them. Thus, according to OLDENBERG, Indra

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(storm-god) belonged to Indo-European but Varuṇa was of Semitic origin.

One of the striking theories propounded by OLDENBERG was that there were three types of abstract deities in the *Ṛgveda*, viz., personification of anger and faith, personification of attributes into individualities such as Prajāpati and Bṛhaspati, and personification based on certain activity such in case of Viṣṇu (pervader) and Savitṛ (impeller). This theory of OLDENBERG was vehemently criticised by HILLEBRANDT who argued that to accept the notion of abstract deities in the *Ṛgveda* would ammount to restrict the Vedic seers' broad vision to a narrow and closed work of a book-worm. His contribution to Vedic mythology with special reference to Vedic gods was many-sided and noteworthy. Along with WHITNEY and HOPKINS, he rejected the henotheism of MAX MÜLLER and HILLEBRANDT's moon-mythology, particularly his interpretation of Soma in the sense of moon. He maintained that in the largest context in the *Ṛgveda*, Soma meant a plant or its Juice.[16]

The middle of 19th century was responsible for making Czechoslovakia as an important centre of indological studies with special reference to Indian languages. Its main credit goes to Karle PRIKRYL who had systematically studied Sanskrit in Goa at the age of 14 and published a valuable monograph on Vedic language in 1855.[17]

But it was Josef ZUBATY who devoted himself to the study of Vedic language and literature along the scientific methods of comparative philology and through his publications laid down the foundation of systematic Vedic studies in Czechoslovakia. ZUBATY's "Qualitative Changes in the First Syllable in the Ṛgveda" and "The Canstruction of Triṣṭubh Jagatī Metres in the Ṛgveda" opened new direction to ransack Vedic language from the linguistic point of view. Obviously, PRIKRYL and ZUBATY confined themselves to the structural analysis of Vedic language. By and by several Indological centres grew up in Czechoslovakia. Noteworthy among them were, the Charles University of Prague, the German University of Prague and the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

Notable Vedic scholars such as A.LUDWIG and M. WINTERNITZ were Professors of Sanskrit at the German University of Prague. WINTERNITZ

16. R. N. DANDEKAR, *op.cit.*, p. 29.
17. Karle PRIKRYL, *The Principles of Brahmanic Language*, Prague, 1855.

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was initially interested in Indian history, the position of Indian women in the period of *Ṛgveda* and also in Indian wedding customs. This is obvions from his early publications.[18] His most distinguished publication is, however, *Geschichte der indischen litteratur* (Leipzig, 1908·. This work was translated into English by Mrs. KETKAR in 1927 as *History of Indian Literature* and still serves as the most valuable document for a student of Vedic history. He maintained that Vedic gods first represented natural phenomena but gradually the attributes indicating the most important aspect of this phenomena took the name of that god and so the natural phenomena were transformed into mythology in due course of time.

I must speak a few words about Richard PISCHEL and Karl F. GELDNER who took strong objection to the methodology of ROTH for setting aside the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya. Both these scholars main-ained that the *Ṛgveda* was an Indian composition and must, therefore, be explained in the light of post-Ṛgvedic Indian sources. They asserted that it would not be wise to make any attempt to understand Vedic mythology as independent of Vedic philology. They also pointed out the wide gulf between Indo-European and Indian Vedic traditions and therefore did not agree to the method of comparative philology and comparative mythology in respect of Vedic interpretation. They preferred to follow the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya and the ritual interpretation of the *Brāhmaṇa* texts. Besides, both these scholars also rejected the method of Indo-European mythology and interpreted Vedic mythology simply on the basis of Indian mythological materials.[19] They supported the idea to take help from the later Hindu mythological records. Thus, on one side they rejeeted the method of comparative mythology and on the other exegetical methods and naturalistic interpretations. They declared that Vedic mythology was a continued living Vedic culture, a culture which was imbedded in an intensive desire for women and wealth.

Folloging the school of thought of PISCHEL and GELDNER, Sten KONOW rejected the naturalistic interpretative method to Vedic interpretation. He advocated that Vedic religion was not the religion of the worship of nature. He was able to recognize some names of Vedic gods in Boghazkoi inscriptions and declared that these very gods were later on

18. M. WINTERNITZ, *The Vedic Widow*, Prague, 1916;
——— , *Old Indian Wedding Ritual According to Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*, Prague, 1923.
19. *Vedische Studien*, (3 vols.), 1889-1901.

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worshipped by Vedic Aryans when they arrived in India and composed the Vedas.[20]

Rejection of the method of naturalistic interpretation to Vedic religion and mythology prompted a number of scholars such as W. CALAND to divert their researches in a new direction. He devoted himself to the study of the *Brāhmaṇa* texts, which is obvious from his excellent edition-translation of the *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, dealing with Vedic ritual and declared that a proper understanding of Vedic religion entirely depended on the understanding of Vedic ritual. He asserted that a good comparative linguist should also be a sound ethnologist and *vice-versa*. Not only that much, CALAND also traced seeds of magic-ritual in Ṛgvedic religion and connected it with Vedic mythology.

Let us remember that MAX MÜLLER became famous as a 'Sun-Mythologist' for his emphasis on sun in the Ṛgvedic culture, HILLEBRANDT became famous as a 'Moon-Mythologist' for his over-emphasis on moon in Ṛgvedic interpretation, and Johannes HERTEL became famous as a 'Fire-Mythologist' for his contenion that the entire Vedic religion and mythology revolved round 'fire and light'. He maintained that Ṛgvedic fire was all-pervading and even identical with understanding. He advocated that fire and light were associated even with Indo-European and Indo-Germanic traditions. For him Brahman (phlegma) represented cosmic fire, Soma and milk heavenly fire and the cremation of dead body was simply to facilitate the deceased to enter into fiery body. According to HERTEL, this dual concept of 'fire and light' did not originate in Zoroastrian religion but was an Indo-Germanic religious concept and it was preserved in the best form in the Ṛgvedic religion and second best in the Avestic religion.[21]

The school of Vedic interpretation belonging to non-Indo-European source material in respect of the Ṛgvedic mythology occupied an important place in the West. J. PRZYLUSKI belonged to this school of thought. He advocated that Aryans certainly came in contact with Austro-Asiatic people whose cultural impact could easily be traced in Vedic mythology. The most glaring evidence in support of the theory he had advanced, was the concept of Varuṇa. Let us recall that Austro-Asiatic people did worship a god of sea as the highest supreme-god at the bottom of sea

20. Sten KONOW, *The Aryan Gods of the Mittani People*, Christiania, 1921.
21. Johannes HERTEL, *Die Arische Feuerlehre*, Leipzig, 1925.

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waters. PRZYLUSKI agreed with PISCHEL, GELDNER, and KRETSCHMER that Varuṇa was a sea-god. He took one more step and declared that Varuṇa did not only belong to Austro-Asiatic mythology (i. e., non-Indo-European tradition) but also belonged to that very language group. He explained the etymology of the word '*varuṇa*' from the word '*baru*' meaning sea and added that '*baru*' plus '*na*' is 'Baruna' and Baruna in due course of time was tranformed into Varuṇa. He said that '*na*' might be a suffix. He pointed out that since the Vedic Aryans in India remained away from sea, Varuṇa was elevated as sky-god later on in the *Ṛgveda*[22]. I may mention that P. KRETSCHMER, however, derived 'Varuṇa' from Hittite 'Aruṇa'. According to him, 'Aruṇa' was a West-Asian word meaning sea. He asserted that Indian Vedic Aryans adopted this very Hitttte 'Aruṇa' (sea-god) as 'Varuṇa' who was preserved as sea-god in post-Vedic Indian mythological literature. In the Vedic period, however, the Indian Vedic Aryans combined two concepts (i. e., Aruṇa, the sea-god and Asura, the sky-god) in one composite concept of Varuṇa. PRZYLUSKI advanced a number of non-Indo-European elements in the Vedic mythology.

A. A. MACDONELL devoted himself to the deeper study of Vedic grammar and Vedic mythology. He primarily concentrated on the nature and characteristics of Vedic gods. In his analysis of Vedic gods, he classified them in many categories such as celestial, atmospherical, terrestrial and abstract etc. He very wisely first gave the basic characteristic of each Vedic god and thereafter briefly summarised the points of views of other notewortey Vedic scholars. He outrightly rejected the approach of BERGAIGNE, HILLEBRANDT and OLDENBERG that Vedic mythology should he studied alongwith the Vedic rituals. In fact, MACDONELL totally rejected the ritualistic approach to Vedic interpretation. He considered Vedic gods as personified natural phenomena. MACDONELL did not put forward any new theory of Vedic interpretation. His studies on Vedic religion and mythology were partly based on original Vedic texts and partly on the critical analysis of his predecessors.[23] MACDONELL belonged to the school of MAX MÜLLER, the Sun-Mythologist and as such he was opposed to HILLEBRANDT's Soma theory or Moon-god in the *Ṛgveda*. He considered Soma as a ritual plant and

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22. (a) J. PRZYLUSKI, "Varuṇa, God f Sea and the Sky, *JRAS*, 1931.
    (b) R. N. DANDEKAR, *op, cit*., pp. 41-43.
23. A. A. MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897.

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more akin to Sun than Moon at the cosmic level. He interpreted Bṛhaspati as a terrestrial god representing the priestly aspect af Agni and Apāṁnapāt as lightning. He accepted Indra as rain-god and Indra-Vṛtra fight as atmospperic phenomena. He also accepted the identity of Varuṇa with Ouranos both phonetically and conceptually but rejected the identity of Vedic Ādityas with Avestan Amesha Spentas as first proposed by ROTH.

Apart from *Vedic Concordance* which is a very important instrument for Vedic studies in the modern world, Maurice BLOOMFIELD did not propound any new theory of his own in the field of Vedic interpretation. He only made a survey of Vedic religion[24]. He mostly agreed with other scholars, for he accepted ROTH's theory of the identity of Varuṇa with Ouranos, HILLEBRANDT's theory of Soma as moon-god. Like BLOOMFIELD, Leopold von SCHROEDER also did not make any advancement to the methodology of Vedic interpretation. He only put forward a bundle of mythological similarities, that also, on the basis of appearing etymologies such as Sārameya with Hermeses previously suggested by KüNH, Paṇi with Prian, Apollo with Agni, Aegis with thunder-cloud and so on.[25] His only notable contribution was his study of the Dialogue Hymns of the *Ṛgveda* wherein he traced the seeds of a lost drama and connected it with the myths of Agastya and Lopāmudrā, and Yama and Yamī.

A.B. KEITH provides a very palatable survey-material both-for a general reader and a specialist.[26] I fully agree with R. N. DANDEKAR (*Vedic Religion and Mythology*, Poona, 1965, p. 44) that KEITH, inspite of presenting a very competent survey of the entire published material on Vedic religion and philosophy, could not advance any new theory of his own in the field of Vedic interpretation. Truly, KEITH did not leave any stone unturned to refute the theories previously put foreward. Therefore. his approach was primarily negative. He rejected the theories of several Vedic scholars such as those of HILLEBRANDT, OTTO, KRETSCHMER, OLDENBERG. HOPKINS, PRZYLUSKI, SCHROEDER, WINTERNITZ and others. The only theory, KEITH accepted, was that of the identification of Varuṇa with Ouranos. As for the methodology of Vedic interpretation, KEITH did not advance any new ideas.

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24. Maurice BLOOMFIELD, *The Religion of the Veda*, New York, 1908.
25. Leopold von SCHROEDER, *Arische Religion*, Leipzig, 1914.
26. A. B. KEITH, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads*, 1925.

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In 1841, first chair of Sanskrit studies was established at Yale University in U.S.A. This Chair was, first of all occupied by Edward Elbridge SALISBURY who had studied Sanskrit and Vedic language and literature at the University of Paris with Eugene BURNOUF. SALISBURY did not write much but he was most fortunate to have a student like W.D. WHITNEY, whose contribution to Sanskrit grammar and Vedic studies cannot be forgotten. Among his numerous publications, I may refer to his edition of the *Atharvaveda* with English translation, the *Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya* and the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*. WHITNEY applied the method of Vedic grammar and modern linguistics to the study of the *Atharvaveda*.

Among the American tradition of Vedic studies LANMANN, BLOOMFIELD and HOPKINS are most distinguished. In this context, I should like to draw the attention of scholars to the publications of the *Harvard Oriental Series*, *California Berkley Series* and *Indo-Iranian Series* of the Colombia University, New York.

In addition to the French and German translations of the *Ṛgveda* mentioned above, the Engilish translation of H.H. WILSON deserves special mention. The basis of this English translation was the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya. Immediately after the publication of WILSON's translation, the western Vedic scholars became almost certain that even the ancient Indian Sanskrit commentators of the Vedas were doubtful regarding the Vedic interpretation. That's why different meanings were accepted as valid of one Vedic word in the same context. This fact, obviovsly, gave a clue to western Vedic scholars to declare that even before the Indian commentators one definite meaning of the Vedic vocabulary was missing. As I have pointed out in the beginning of this article, it was the French savant Eugene BURNOUF, the greatest western Guru, who had, first of all raised this problem and it was his disciple ROTH who had rejected the Indian commentators. The modern scientific methodology of comparative mythology, comparative religion and comparative linguistics as advocated by ROTH was warmly welcomed in the West. Majority of western Vedic scholars began to determine the meaning of Vedic words on the basis of comparative study of such words which were available at different places in the *Ṛgveda* itself; while at some times etymological and grammatical methods were also applied. The results of ROTH's researches are available in *St. Petersberg Lexican*. This critical, comparative and historical method of Vedic interpretation influenced several western and Indian Vedic scholars.

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At present there are three noteworthy schools of Vedic studies: (1) French school of DUMEZIL, (2) German school of Paul THIEME and (3) Dutch school of J. GONDA. The first two of these schools advocate comparative study of the Veda and *Avesta* and also take into account the post-Ṛgvedic classical Sanskrit literature for the better understanding of Vedic mythology. Each of these two schools have their own rigid uncompromising point of view and each is advancing even increasing force of approbation. The third school has not been able to advance any new methodology in the field of Vedic interpretation.

This brief article bears testimony to the fact that the basis of the methodology of Vedic interpretation of western Vedic scholars was history, grammar, comparative mythology and comparative linguistics. Let us recall that the basis of Indian Vedic commentators was Vedic ritual and religion. Some western scholars, who interpreted Vedic vocabulary from the Veda itself, made a deep study of the Vedic literature, specially *Ṛgveda* and explained certain obscure words and passages. Application of the methodology, to ascertain the meaning of Vedic vocabulary on the basis of the comparative material of the Vedic words, was also available in the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya. The peculiar aspect of the methodology of Vedic interpretation in the West was to ascertain the meaning of Vedic words on the basis of equivalent and similar myths and words available in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Avesta*.

I am fully aware that several works of the western Vedic scholars, specially the contemporary ones, have not been taken into account in this article, but as I had pointed out earlier, it was not my purpose to do so. I have only made a critical analysis of some of those outstanding western scholars who had contributed to the methodology of Vedic interpretation and I shall feel amply rewarded if this article provides an incentive to Vedic studies in Latin American countries.

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K. P. Jog, Poona :

# IS *ṚGVEDA* I.117 A COMPOSITE HYMN ?*

1. It is often that we mention the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* as a revealed text, but it is only on a few occasions that we suspect the unity of any hymn and that we are apt to overlook suggestions as to the composite character of a hymn. One such suggestion was made by an old commentator of the *Ṛgveda, viz.,* Mādhavabhaṭṭa. who in his *Ṛgvedavyākhyā*[1] spoke of the composite character of the hymn *RV* I.117[2] and the editor of the *Ṛgvedavyākhyā*, C. K. RAJA, had invited our attention to it as long back as in 1947.[3] Also he had defered a critical examination of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's suggestion to some future.[4] It was, however, unfortunate that he could not fulfil his wish and Mādhavabhaṭṭa's observation remained demanding attention till today. Therefore, I propose to offer here some of my thoughts on the same.

2. The hymn under discussion comprises of twenty-five verses and has been reported by tradition as a hymn of Kakṣivat, the son of Dirghatamas and Uśij.[5] Further, it occurs in a series of hymns, i, e., among hymns *RV* I.116-125, ascribed to (or, seen by) the *Ṛṣi-kavi* Kakṣivat. Again, the hymns *RV* I.116-120 form one group of hymns addressed to the Aśvins. It would therefore appear, at the outset, that any suspicion entertained about *RV* I.117 is baseless. In fact all known commentators of the *Ṛgveda*—beginning with Skanda upto Sāyaṇa[6]—have not taken

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1. Published by Adyar Library, Madras, 1939 (Part I): 1947 (Part II).
2. *Cf.* Part II, p. 782.
3. *Cf.* Part II, Preface, p. vii. Read : "Another interesting point (in this commentary) is the suggestion that in *Sūkta* 117 a Sūkta must have ended with the 10th verse and that the remaining 15 verses must be a separate *Sūkta*."
4. *Ibid.*
5. Cf. Kātyāyana's *Sarvānkramaṇī of the Ṛgveda*, ed. A. A. MACDONELL, Oxford, 1886 : *nāsatyābhyām pañcādhikā kakṣivān dairghatamasaḥ uśikprasūta āsvinaṁ vai.*'
6. *Cf.* Pandit BHAGAVADDATTA, *Vaidik Vāṅmayakā Itihāsa, Bhāg dūsarā : Vedake Bhāṣyakāra*, Praṇava Prakāshan, Delhi, 1976; pp. 21 to 69.

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any notice of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's remark. It was then no wonder that modern scholars of Veda also have happened to ignore the same !

3. The 10th verse of *RV* I.117 runs thus :

*etāni vāṁ śravasyā sudānū*
*brahmāṅgūṣaṁ sadanaṁ rodasyoḥ |*
*yad vāṁ pajrāso aśvinā havante*
*yātam iṣā ca viduṣe ca vājam ||*

'These are, O lords of liberal gifts, your famed possessions : this glorifying song, this praise and this dwelling in the Rodaṣī (*i. e.*, Heaven and Earth). Since the Pajras invoke you, O Aśvins, come with nourishment and give food (or mighty treasure) to the (singer) who has known (this).'

Mādhavabhaṭṭa explains the meaning of this verse and, in conclusion, adds the following[7] :

*atra saṁsthitam sūktam pratibhāti | mantrārthaveṣāt api ca vargānte 'yad havante'-rūpopasaṁhāreṇa | sūnor mānenetyādikaś ca anyādṛśavacanasya vyaktayo bhavanti | tathāpi śaunakena sūktaṁ idam ekam evety uktam |*

'The *Sūkta* appears to have concluded here. (This is evident) from the garb of the verse-meaning'. Also from the conclusion in the form of the words '*yad havante*...' at the end of the *varga*-unit of verses for recitation'. Further, (the verses) beginning with (the words) *sūnor mānena* are expressions of a speaker who appears different (from the one of the earlier verses upto this verse). Yet Śaunaka has stated this (group of twenty-five verses to be) just one hymn.'

It is clear that the tenor of the hymn upto the 10th verse leads Mādhavabhaṭṭa to see in the 10th verse the conclusion of it. The verse *etāni vām aśvinā* and the like of it are often noticed to mark the conclusion of a hymn.[8] Similarly, the phrase *yad vām pajrāsaḥ* also seems to

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7. I give Mādhavabhaṭṭa's words in corrected form, for the Ms. of the *Ṛgvedavyākhyā* is quite corrupt ! This is seen from the editor's annotation in the edited text.
8. *Cf. RV* I.73.10; II. 39.8; IV. 2.20; IX. 78.5; X. 32.10.

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show the ending portion of a hymn[9]. Further, Mādhavabhaṭṭa has explicitely expressed his feeling that the verses 11 to 25 are the utterances of a *Ṛṣi* other than Kakṣivat—the words *sūnor mānena* certainly do not refer Kakṣivat.[10] Consequently, Mādhavabhaṭṭa has very gently rebuked Śaunaka for considering two apparently different hymns as one hymn !

4. Mādhavabhaṭṭa's opinion assumes significance in the light of the 26th verse which runs thus :

*etāni vām aśvinā 'vīryāṇi*
*pra pūrvyāṇy āyavo 'vocan /*
*brahma kṛṇvanto vṛṣaṇā yuvabhyāṁ*
*suvīrāso vidatham ā vadema //*

'These your heroic deeds, the ancient ones, have the Āyus proclaimed, O Aśvins. Let us also, O Bulls, being rich in heroes address to the (sacrificial) assembly, fashioning a glorifying song for you.'

Already we have noticed in verse 10 a reference to the composition of Kakṣivat who belongs to the family of Pajras and in verse 11 a reference to the song-making of the son of Māna. But this evidence towards two different singers might appear to some as superficial. It is, therefore, necessary to clarify the thought of Kakṣivat in the course of the first ten verses. Thus, in the very first verse, he invokes the Aśvins to come for the delight of Soma which he offers to them. He tells them *iṣā yātaṁ nāsatyopa vājaiḥ* 'Come on to (us), O Nāsatyas, with nourishment (and gifts of) foods (or, mighty treasures).' Then, in verse 2, he urges them to come on their chariot which takes them to *sukṛtor duroṇa* 'the house of a pious worshipper'. And, in order that they accede to his urging request, he mentions in verses 3 to 5 that they had in olden times, gone to favour their pious worshippers, viz. Atri, Rebha and Vandana. In verse 6, he refers to the Aśvins' act of sprinkling *madhu* 'sweet' profusely on a horse's hoof, because, he states, it is an ought for

9. *Cf. RV* I. 63 refers in the concluding verse to Gotamas; I. 78 to Rahūgaṇas; I. 130 to Divodāsas; I. 169.8 to Manas; etc.
10. Kakṣivat is already known as son of Dīrghatamas and Uśij. He is not Agastya to whom the words *sūnor māna* refer.

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him.[11] Thereafter, he once again mentions in verses 7 to 9 the Aśvins' favour of gifts, namely of long line, health, prosperity and a strong horse to Viśvaka, Kaṇva Nārṣada and Pedu. All these he describes in one word as *śravasyā (=śravaṇīyāni)* 'to be heard' (i. e. famed) *daṁsāṁsi* 'wonder-works'. Then, it appears finally, he insists on that they must respond to the call of the Pajras and concludes his invocation with the words *yatam iṣā ca viduṣe ca vājam* which repeat his requast in the first verse noted above. This should reveal how the poet's thoughts have resulted into a well-knit hymn that would secure the Aśvins gift of *iṣ* 'nourishment' and *vāja* 'food (or, mighty treasure)' for their pious worshippers, the Pajras.

5. We now turn to the remaining verses, wherein we come to notice a continued series of the wonderful deeds performed by the Aśvins. These relate to the legends of Rebha (this is already mentioned in verse 4 above), Cyavana, Bhujyu (the son of Tugra), a sparrow, Ṛjrāśva, the female wolf, Śayu, Manas, Dadhyaṅ Ātharvaṇa and Vadhrimatī. This series concludes with words which seem to sum up the *pūrvyāṇi vīryāṇi* 'the ancient heroic deeds' of the Aśvins. Again, these have been mentioned as sung aloud by the Āyus, not by the Pajras. Thus, it is quite clear that the poet of this unit of verses has intended to declare in his song of praise the wonderful character of the Aśvins' succours for the sake of devotees. What is more important, the poet inserts in this unit of verses, a verse which is expressive of the hope that the Aśvins favour his own request also. This is verse 23 which runs thus :

*sadā kavī sumatim ā cake vāṁ*
*viśvā dhiyo aśvinā prāvatam me |*
*asme rayim nāsatyā bṛhantam*
*apatyasācam śrutyaṁ rarāthām ||*

'Ever have I, O intelligent (gods), longed for your grace (lit good thought for me); favour (or, protect—i. e. fulfil), O Aśvins, all my prayers. Do send to us, O Nāsatyas, (ever) increasing wealth, accompanied by offspring and worthy of renown'.

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11. Already he refers to it in *RV* I.116.7. Also he appears to say 'it is an ought (for me)' as in *RV* I. 116.11. Again Kakṣīvat's reference to 'horse' as in *RV* X. 143 (which also is a hymn to the Aśvins), may be noted in this connection.

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6. The foregoing should show, I hope, now the two units of verses, viz. 1 to 10 and 11 to 25, differ in respect of the tenor of the thoughts in them and also of the intention of the singer who proceeds to sing to the Aśvins. This should then corroborate Mādhavabhaṭṭa's suspicion that this one hymn in Śaunaka's list is in reality two different hymns tagged together, *i. e.*, a composite hymn.

7. I should indicate here a further line of approach to this problem —I propose to take it up later. It is possible (and would yield fruitful results) to comapre the other hymns of Kakṣīvat in the *Ṛgveda* as also those of Sūnor Māna (=Agastya) with each of the two units of this composite hymn in respect of vocabulary, clichés of expression, and associations of phrases, words and figures of speech etc. The statistical methods suggested by YULE[12] for such purposes may be used with profit; that should help ascertaining whether or not Mādhavabhaṭṭa's observation is valid.

12. *Cf.* YULE, G. Udny, *Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary*, Cambridge University Press, 1944.

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R. C. HAZRA, Calcutta :

# A HITHERTO OBSCURE VEDIC WORD ON THE VRĀTYAS—ITS DERIVATION, INTERPETATION AND HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE[1]

The relevant Vedic word, which has baffled the sincere attempts of all ancient and modern scholars at its correct recognition[2] and interpretation, occurs in its inflected form as *'vrātyām'* in the *Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa*[3] (*alias Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa)* and the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa*[4], both belonging to the *Sāmaveda*. In these two works this word is found used with verbs, *viz.*, *'pravasantaḥ'*, *'pravasanti'* and *'pravaseyuḥ'* in the former[5], and *'adhāvayan'* and *'dhāvayanti'* in the latter.[6]

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1. This article forms part of a chapter of a work of mine entitled *"The Vrātyas of Eastern India,"* which is nearing, completion.

2. We shall see below that this word, in its uninflected form, is *'Vrātī,'* which, to our great surprise, escaped the notice of all scholars of all ages and occurs neither in any of the Sanskrit lexicans, ancient or modern (including even the great *St. Petersburg Dictionary* compiled by O. BÖHTLINGK and R. ROTH) nor in any other work of the Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali or Prakrit literature. No Sanskrit grammarian, ancient or modern, has given it as an inst ance in explaining Pāṇini's rule 4.2.76 by which, as we shall see below, the formation and meaning of this word can be explained very relevantly and conveniently.

3. Ed., with Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1931-36.

4. Ed. RAGHU VIRA and LOKESH CHANDRA, Nagpur, 1954.

5-6. *TMbr* 17. 1. 1, 17. 1. 2, 2. 2, and 3. 2, and 17. 2. 1, 3. 1, and 4. 1; and *JBr* 2. 221 (p. 255), 2. 221 and 222 (p. 255), and 2. 225 (p. 256).

In his English translation of the *PBr* (17.1.1) W. CALAND says in note 2 at p. 455 that, like the expressions *'vrātyām pravasanti'* of the *PBr* and *'vrātyām dhāvayanti'* of *JBr*, the *BŚrs* has *'vrātyām caranti.'* But in his ed. of the *BŚrs*, (published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta) he gives the said expression as *'vrātyām caranti'* meaning 'lead the life, or praise the conduct, of the *Vrāta*') and not as *'Vrātyām caranti'* (see *BŚrs*. 18. 25 in Vol. II, pp. 373-4). As in his ed. CALAND gives no Ms. evidence for the reading *'vrātyām caranti,'* it may be a printing mistake for *'vrātyām caranti.'*

But, from the nature of CALAND's mention of the reading *'vrātyām caranti'* in his English translation of the *PBr*, it is more probable that the Mss. of the

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In commenting on *TMbr* 17.1.1 ((*devā vai svargaṃ lokam āyan, teṣāṃ daivā ahīyanta vrātyāṃ pravasantaḥ* ... ...) Sāyaṇa explains '*vrātyāṃ pravasantaḥ*' thus : '*vrātyāṃ vrātyatām ācāra-hīnatāṃ prāpya pravasantaḥ pravāsaṃ kurvantaḥ*... ...'. In a similar way he explains '*vrātyāṃ pravāsanti*' in *TMbr* 17.1.2 as '*vrātyāṃ vrātyatāṃ vihitakaraṇa-pratiṣiddha-niṣevaṇa-rūpāṃ prāpya pravasanti*', and '*vrātyāṃ pravaseyuḥ*' in *TMbr* 17.2.1 and 17.3.1 as '*vrātyāṃ vrātyatvaṃ prāpya pravaseyuḥ*' and '*vrātyatāṃ prāpya pravaseyuḥ*' respectively. From these explanations it is evident that according to Sāyaṇa the basic word in '*vrātyām*' is '*vrātyā*', which, to be '*vrātyam*', must have taken the second case-ending, and '*vrātyatām*', and '*vrātyatām*', both likewise with the second case ending, are the synonyms for '*vrātyām*'. But we fail to understand how '*vrātyām* may be made synonymous with '*vrātyatām*' and '*vrātyatvam*' and what that *Taddhita* suffix is in '*vrātyām*' which is equivalent to '*tal*' (> *tā*) and '*tva*'. If it has been derived from '*vrāta*', like '*vātyā*' (meaning '*vāta-samūha*' — 'a multitude of winds, i.e., gusts of wind') derived from '*vāta*'[7], then, like '*janatā*' (meaning '*jana-samūha*') derived from '*jana*'[8], it may somehow be taken to be equivalent to '*vrātatā*' (meaning '*vrāta-samūha*'— 'a multitude of bands, troops, hordes or hosts') and not '*vrātyatā*' (which, according to Sāyaṇa, is equivalent to '*vrātyatva*' and means 'Vrātyahood' or 'the state of being a *Vrātya*'). That the equivalents '*vrātyatām*' and '*vrātyatvam*', given by Sāyaṇa for '*vrātyam*', are wrong, is also shown by the fact that, as '*pra*+√*vas*' (meaning 'to sojourn', 'to stay or reside temporarily', 'to live away from home' and thus being intransitive) cannot govern any word in the Accusative Case unless this word denotes place,

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*BŚrs*, had the reading '*vrātyāṁ caranti*', which being unintelligible to CALAND, was taken by him to be incorrect and, consequently, not mentionable among the variants and was finally replaced by the reading '*vrātyāṁ caranti*.'

Similarly, like '*vrātyāṁ caranti*' the original reading for '*vrātye avasthitasya*' (='*vrātye avasthitasya*' meaning *vrātyatāṁ prāptasya*') in *BŚrs*. 18. 25 (in Vol. II, p. 372) was in all probability '*vrāty-avasthitasya*' (='*vrātyām avasthitasya*).

[If all the Mss. of the *BŚrs*. really read '*vrātyām caranti*' and '*vrāty-āvasthitasya*' without any v. l. '*vrātyām*' and *vratyava°*', then it must be admitted that the word '*vrātī*' had become obscure from a very early period, probably even before the composition of the *BŚrs*.].

7-8. See Pāṇini's rule 4.2.49-*pāśādibhyo yaḥ*, and 4.2.43-*grāmajana-bandhubhyas tal* (both the suffixes '*ya*' and '*tal*' being added in the sense of '*Samūha*'-'multitude').

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time, action, or road to be traversed[9], the expressions '*vrātyatāṃ pravsantaḥ, pravasanti* or *pravaseyuḥ*' and '*vrātyatvaṃ pravaseyuḥ*' (given by Sāyaṇa for '*vrātyāṃ pravasantaḥ, pravasanti* or *pravaseyuḥ*') are ungrammatical and nonsensical, the words '*vratyatāṃ*' and '*vrātyatvam*', as we have already said, meaning 'Vratyahood' or 'the state of being a *Vrātya*', and not place, time, action, or road to be traversed, and it is for this reason that Sāyaṇa has been compelled to add a new word, a verb, viz., '*prāpya*', for the sake of the second Case-ending conceived by him in '*vrātyam*' and thus, for making his interpretation grammatically correct and sensible. So, there is no doubt that Sāyaṇa's interpretation of the word '*vrātyām*' is highly laboured and incorrect and no better than a wild guess.

Rājārām Rāmkrishna BHAGAVAT gives, in his article on the *Vrātyas* in *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XIX, 1895-97, p. 357-364, "an English translation of the text" of the *TMbr* (17.1.1 ) on *Vrātya-stomas* but completly overlooks the highly significant expressions '*vrātyāṃ pravasantaḥ*', etc., which are thus totally unintelligible to him.

In his English translation[10] of the said work under the title *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, W. CALAND does not try to derive the word '*vrātyāṃ*' but arbitrarily renders '*vrātyāṃ pravasantaḥ*' in *TMbr* 17.1.1 as 'leading a *Vrātya*-life', '*vrātyām pravasanti*' in *TMbr* 17.1.2 and in *ibid.* 17.2.2 and 17.3.2 respectively as 'lead the life of a joined group' and 'lead a *Vrātya*-life', and '*vrātyāṃ pravoseyuḥ*' in *TMbr* 17.2.1 and 17.3.1 as 'lead a Vrātya-life', and in note 2 at p. 455 he says :

"The meaning of the expression *vrātyām pravasanti* is unknown....... Perhaps *vrātyām pravasanti* is elliptic for *vrātyāṃ vasatiṃ pravasanti*, 'leading the life of a joined group' from *vrāta*, ......".

We cannot overlook the facts that the meaning of '*pra*+√*vas*', being qualified, is considerably different from that of √*vas* (which means living or residing in general) and that, consequently, one, by following the *Vārttika* referred to above, may say '*pravāsam pravasanti*' but not '*vāsaṃ* (or *vasatiṃ*) *pravasanti*', which is incorrect due to the remarkable difference in meanings between √*vas* and *pra*+√*vas*.

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9. See Kātyāyana's *Vārttika* "*akarmaka-dhātubhir yoge deśaḥ kālo bhāvo gantavyo 'dhvā ca karma-saṃjñaka iti vācyam*".
10. Published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1931.

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Having no idea of the formation and significance of the word *'vrātyām'* Radhakrishna CHOUDHARY in his *Vrātyas in Ancient India*[11], p. 15, says : "The exact meaning of the expression *vrātyāṃ pravasanti'* has not yet been clear ... ..." and refers to the meaning given to it by CALAND.

In his paper entitled "Bemerkungen über die Vrātyas", which was published in *Vienna Oriental Journal,* XXV, pp. 355ff., J. CHARPENTIER renders the expression *'vrātyāṃ pravasantaḥ'* as *'Wohnten ohne Riten in der Ferne'* ('dwelling without rites in the distant place') and J. W. HAUER, in his *Der Vrātya*[12], p. 59, renders it as *'die eben auf Vrātya-Wanderschaft begriffen maren'* (wandering of the *Vrātyas*); but neither of these two scholars give any reason for his rendering mentioned above.

According to D. R. BHANDARKAR the basic word in *'vrātyām'* is *'Vrāti'* (ending in short 'i'), which he takes to mean the 'settlement' of the *Vrātyas'*[13] and wtih which he forms a peculiar expression *'Vrāti* settlement' to convey the said meaning[14], but he does not explain how *'vrāti'* is to be derived and how it can have the said meaning. So far as we know, there is no word *'vrāti'* in Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali or Prakrit and no grammatical rule by which this word can be derived. So, BHANDARKAR's statement about the basic word in *'vrātyām'* is clearly based on mere surmise and has got no solid ground to stand upon.

Following D. R. BHANDARKAR, BUDDHA PRAKASH also takes *'vrāti'* (ending in short 'i') to be the basic word in *'vrātyām'*, but says that *'vrātya'* is "derived from *'vrāta'* or *'vrāti'* meaning a horde or settlement".[15]

We cannot help mentioning here that, following D. R. BHANDARKAR and BUDDHA PRAKASH, Radhakrishna CHOUDHARY uses the peculiar expression *'Vrāti* settlement' more than once in his work mentioned above.

It is needless to refer to other scholars failing to understand the basic word in, and the meaning of, *'vrātyām'*. Even a highly erudite and widely-renowned scholar like Mm. Haraprasad SHASTRI was completely

11. Published by the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1964.
12. Published from Stuttgart, 1927.
13. BHANDARKAR, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 47.
14. See *ibid.*, p. 39.
15. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXX, 1949,

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helpless with regard to the correct basic word in '*vrātyām*' and followed Sāyaṇa in taking it to be '*vratyā*', which he wrongly took to mean 'temporary settlement or habitation'.[16]

As CALAND and others' explanations of the expressions '*vrātyāṃ pravasantaḥ*', etc. are nothing more than mere guesses without any solid ground to stand upon and as some of these scholars frankly admit their helpless condition in regard to the import of the said expressions, we should like to explain them in our own way as shown below.

It has already been said that in the expressions '*vrātyāṃ pravasantaḥ*' etc. '*pra+√vas*' (forming the basis of '*pravasantaḥ*' etc.) is intransitive, meaning 'to sojourn', 'to stay or reside temporarily', 'to liveaway from home'. So, '*vrātyām*', which, as we have already seen, does not, according to Sāyaṇa, mean place, time, action, or road to be traversed and thus cannot have the second case-ending in connection with the intransitive verbs '*pravasantaḥ*' etc., must be in the Locative Case, and this syntactical relation of this word is also evident from the expressions '*vrātyām adhāvayan* and *vrātyāṃ dhāvayanti*', in which '*adhāvayan*' and '*dhāvayanti*, respectively mean 'drove (their chariots in or into)' and 'drive (their chariots in or into)'. Consequently, the basic word in '*vrātyām*' (which has got the seventh case-ending) must be feminine, viz. '*vrātī*', and not '*vrātyā*' as Sāyaṇa takes it to be in commenting on the said expressions.

But how is '*vrātī*' to be derived, and what does it mean ? Let us look into Pāṇini's grammar for a solution. In this book there is *a Sūtra 'strīṣu sauvīra-sālva-prākṣu*' (4.2.76), which, following a few others, particularly 4. 2. 67, 68 and 71[17], says that in creating some particular meanings such as 'made or completed by' (*nirvṛtta*), etc. the suffix *añ* (> *a*) comes in after words which are names of makers of objects (such as cities, strongholds, camps etc.) meant by words in the feminine gender and situated in Sauvīra (country), Sālva (country) or *an eastern(country)*, and that the epithetical words, thus formed, are always feminine. Thus, as the *Kāśikā* tells us, the city *(nagarī)* established or completed (*nirvṛttā)* by Dattāmitra (in Sauvīra country) is '*dāttāmitrī*' (nagarī); and in the same way

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16. See H. P. SHASTRI, *Magadhan Literature*, pp. 5,9, and *Absorption of the Vrātyas*, p. 4.
17. These three Sūtras are : "*tad asminn astīti deśe tannāmni*" (4.2. 67), "*tena nirvṛttam*" (4.2.68), and "*or añ*" (4.2.71)-.

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we have the words '*vaidhūmāgnī*; and '*kākandī*,' '*mākandī*,' '*māṇicarī*' and '*jāruṣī*' to mean respectively the city made or completed by Vidhūmāgni in Sālva conntry and those by Kakanda, Makanda,[18] Maṇicara and Jaruṣa in an eastern country. Likewise we may have the word '*vrātī*' meaning 'a city (*nagarī*), stronghold (*purī*) or settlement (*vasati)* made by a Vrāta or Vrātas (*in an eastern country*)'—*vrātena vrātair vā* (*prācya-deśe) nirvṛttā nagarī purī vasatir vā iti* (*vrāta+aṇ+ṅīp=*) *vrātī*, (even though, as we have said above, this word has not been mentioned by any Sanskrit grammarian, early or late, as an instance of the said *Sūtra*, 4.2.76, of Pāṇini); and there is hardly any doubt that this is the word which, lying hidden under a case-ending (wrongly taken by Sāyaṇa to be the second one), hitherto escaped the searching eyes of all interested scholars and has now been found to occur in the Locative Case as '*vrātyām*' in the said expressions of the *TMbr* and the *JBr*. So, '*vrātī*' is to be taken to mean 'a city (or stronghold or settlement) of a Vrāta or Vrātas (which is situated in an *eastern country*) ; and with this meaning this word gives us a definite clue to the solution of the hitherto unsolved problem of the native land of the Vrātyas spoken of in the said *Brāhmaṇas*.

That the *eastern country* containing a Vrātī or Vrātīs was Magadha (i.e., South Bihar, which is in Eastern India), is evident from the statements of the *Śrauta-sūtras* of Lāṭyāyana, Kātyāyana and Baudhāyana. Of these the *Lāṭy-Śrs*. (8.6.28, p. 584) says: :

"*vrātyebhyo vrātya-dhanāni ye vrātya-caryāyā aviratāḥ syur brahma-bandhave vā māgadhadeśīyāya, 'yasmā etad dadāti tasminneva mṛjānā yantīti hy āha*|"

["The possessions of the Vrātyas (seeking purification through Vrātya-stomas) should be given either to those Vrātyas who have not desisted from the conduct of the Vrātyas or (more preferably) to a *brahmabandhu* (pseudo-Brahmin) [19] who is *māgadhadeśī*-

18. This name ('Makanda') seems to remind us of 'Pramaganda' of Kīkaṭa mentioned in *RV* 3.53.14.
19. In commenting on the said passage of the *Lāṭy-Śrs*. Agnisvāmin explains the word '*brahma-bandhu*' thus : '*bandhuṣv asya brahma avasthitam na tasmin, so' yam brahma-bandhuḥ*."

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*ya*, because (the *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, alias Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa,*) says, (They) pass of (to a higher state) by transferring (their sin or guilt) to them on whom they bestow (all) this' "].

In very much the same way the *Kāty-Śrs.* (22.4.24-26) also says :

"*māgadhadeśīyāya brahma-bandhave dakṣiṇā-kāle vrātya-dhanaṃ dadyuḥ / avirateblıyo vā vrātya-carṇāt / teṣv eva mṛjānā yantīti śruteḥ/*"

["At the time of (giving) the sacrificial fee (the Vrātyas taking part in a *Vrātya-stoma*) should give (their) belongings (earned) by Vrāta-practics (i.e. , by physical violence, as the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini 5.2.21 says) either to a *brahma-bandhu* (pseudo-Brahmin) who is *māgadhadeśīya* or to (those Vrātyas) who have not desisted from Vrātya-practice, because there is the Śruti that, by transferring (their sin or guilt) to those (people) only, (they) pass off (to a higher state) "] .

In commenting on *Lāṭy-Śrs.* 8.6.28 Agnisvāmin explains the word '*māgadhadeśīya*' thus :

"*māgadho nāma gāyanaḥ vandī* ; '*sūta-māgadha-vandinaḥ*' *iti ucyate, gāthābhir lokaṃ stuvanti te gāyakā ity ucyante, īṣan māgadho māgadhadeśīyaḥ asamyag-āyanaḥ nodghāṭita-śirās tu māgadhaṃ ca karoti sa ucyate māgadhadeśīyaḥ* ; *apare bruvate magadho deśa iti, tasmin ya utpannaḥ sa māgadhadeśīya iti/* "

So, Agnisvāmin takes this word to mean '*īṣan-māgadha*'—slightly, i. e., not completely, a minstrel—*māgadha*', who, according to him is *asamyag-gāyanaḥ*' (not a thorough singer') but does the work of a minstrel (*māgadha*) without keeping his head bare (i.e., by wearing the turban of a Vrātya) and is, thus, quite different from the genuine *māgadha*-s, minstrels, who are singers and laud people with songs (gāthā) (by keeping their heads bare). Agnisvāmin further says that there are others who take '*māgadhadeśīya*,[20] to mean a person born in the country of Magadha.

Like Agnisvānin, Karkācārya also explains the said word as occurring in *Kāty-Śrs.* 22.4. 24, giving its said two meanings thus :

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20. Evidently derived from '*magadha-deśa*' with the *Taddhita* suffix '*chaṇ* (> *īya*) like '*paitṛ-svasrīya*' and '*mātṛ-svasrīya*' derived respectively from '*pitṛ-svasṛ*' and '*mātṛ-svasṛ*'.

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"......*magadha-deśa-nivāsī yo brahma-bandhur jāyate sa māgadhadeśīya-brahmabandhuḥ, tasmai ... / apare tu māgadhaṃ geyam-āhuḥ / tatra yo deśīyaḥ, īṣadasamāptau deśīya ity ucyate, tasmai* .."

["... ... one who, being an inhabitant of the country of Magadha, turns a pseudo-Brahmin, is (called) a worthless Brahmin of the country of Magadha, – to him .... But others call the *māgadha* a singer. In that (sense, one) who is slightly incomplete, — (because) to mean slight incompleteness one is said to be *deśīya*'— to him ... ..."].

If following Agnisvāmin and others, we take the word *māgadha*' to mean a minstrel[21] and from the word '*māgadhadeśīya*' by adding to '*māgadha*' the *Taddhita* suffix '*deśīyar*' (>deśīya) in the sense of *īṣad-asamāpti*' (slight incompleteness' according to Pāṇini's rule "*īṣad-asamāptau kalpab-deśya-deśīyaraḥ*" (5.3.67), then we associate the *brahma-bandhu*, undoubtedly a Brahmin Vrātya (of Aryan descent), with Magadha. In the Purāṇic works[22] we are told that the Paurāṇika minstrels Sūta and Māgadha had their origin on one of the days of Soma-pressing in the Horse-Sacrifice (called *Aśvamedha* or *Hayamedha Yajña*, and also '*Paitāmaha Yajña*', '*Svāyaṃbhuva Yajña*' and 'Brahman's *Pauṣkara Yajña*')[23]

21. This meaning of the word '*māgadha*' finds strong support in the mention of Eka-Vrātya's '*puṃścalī*' (harlot) and '*māgadha*' in *AV* 15.2.5, 13, 19 and 25, and in the statement made in connecetion with the *Puruṣamedha* Sacrifice in *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* 30.22 that 'a *māgadha*, a *puṃścalī* (harlot), a *kitava* (gambler) and a *klīva* (eunuch), who are neither Śūdras nor Brahmins, are to be dedicated to Prajāpati.'

22. *Vāyu-p.* (ĀnSS ed.) 62. 137ff., and 1.33 ff. (=Veṇk. ed ii. 1. 135 ff., and i. 1.28 ff); *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* (Veṇk. ed.) i. 5. 36. 158cd ff.; *Hari-vaṃśa* (Vaṅga. ed.) i. 5. 33 ff., and i. 2. 23cd-24; *Viṣṇu p.* (Vaṅga. ed.) i.13. 50cd ff.; *Padma-p.* (ĀnSS ed.) II (Bhūmi-kh.) 27. 65cd ff., and V (Sṛṣṭi-kh.) i. 29cd ff.; *Skanda-p.* (Vaṅga. ed.) VII (Prabhāsa-kh.) i. 336. 102 ff.; *Kūrma-p.* (Vaṅga. ed.) i. 14. 12ff., and i. 1. 6; *Brahma-p.* (ĀnSS ed.) 4. 60 ff.; *Āgneya-p.* (alias *Vahni-p.*, Calcutta Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, Chap. 1, verses 2 ff. (fol. 1b) and Chap.9, verses 30 ff. (fol. 27 a-b); *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (Veṇk. ed.)i. 109. 13cd ff., and 52. 19-20ab; *Agni-p.* (Vaṅga. ed.) 18. 14cd-16ab.

23. The Horse Sacrifice is called-
(i) *Paitāmaha Yajña* in *Vāyu-p.* 62. 137 (=Veṇk. ed. ii. 1. 135), *Hari-Vaṃśa* i. 5. 33, *Viṣṇu-p.* i. 13. 50cd-51ab, *Padma-p.* II. (Bhūmi-kh.) 5. 27. 65 cd-66ab. *Kūrma*-p. i. 14. 12, *Brahma-p.* 4. 60, and *Āgneya-p.* (*alias Vahni-p.*) 9. 30 (fol. 27a),

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instituted by, or during the reign of, Vena's son Pṛthu, the first ruler of the earth, and that, being highly pleased with the eulogy made by the Sūta and the Māgadha, Pṛthu gave the Anūpa country to the Sūta, and Magadha to the Māgadha'[24]. There is hardly any doubt that this story had its origin much later than the time of some Magadhan people's earning reputation or popularity by first adopting the life of minstrels and that it was meant for associating with the sacrificial religion of the Vedas and thus assigning to a social position, though not very enviable, these minstrels of the country of Magadha, a country which has been given out in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* to be one inhabited by non-sacrificial people undoubtedly non-Aryan.[25] So, it is evident that the Paurāṇika minstrel Māgadha was originally a man of Magadha, and as Magadha became well-known from very early times as the breeding ground of minstrels, the word '*māgadha*', which originally meant 'a man of Magadha', came to be used widely as his professional name. It may also be that the expression '*brahma-bandhu māgadhadeśīya*' means a worthless Brahmin who, though being of Aryan origin, had become a Vrātya and, by his conduct and practices, turned practically a genuine man of Magadha.[26] Consequently, by describing the *brahma-bandhu* as

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(ii) *Svāyambhuva Yajña* in *Skonda-p.* VII. i. 1.8, and *Kūrma-p.* i. 1.6, and
(iii) Brahman's *Pauṣkara Yajña* in *Āgneya-p.* (*alias Vahni-p.*) 1.2 (fol. 1.).

In *Agneya-p.* (*alias Vahni-p.*) 12.6 (fol. 36a) Sūta is called '*brahma-sutyāha-sambhava*,' the said Sacrifice being thus connected with Brahman.

The *Brahmāṇḍa-p.*, *Padma-p.* (Sṛṣṭi-kh.), *Brahma-p.* 2.24-25ab, and *Hari-vamśa* i. 2. 24 do not give any particular name to the Sacrifice.

24. *Vāyu-p.* 36. 147 (= Veṇk. ed. ii. 1. 145), *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* i. 36. 171cd-172ab, *Mahābhārata* (Vanga. ed.) 12. 59. 113 (given as spurious in the Poona critical ed. *Hari-vaṁśa* i. 5. 42, *Skanda-p.* VII, i. 33, 113, *Brahma-p.* 4. 67, *Āgneya-p.* (*alias Vahni-p.*) 9. 333 (fol.), *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* i. 109, 19, *Śiva-p.*. VI. 56. 34.

*Padma-p.* V. 1. 31 says that Pṛthu gave 'Sūta-viṣaya' to Sūta, and Magadha to Māgadha.

In *Padma-p.* II. 27. 85-88 it is said that since the time of their origin Sūta Māgadha and others were engaged by kings as bards and given much wealth; to Sūta, Māgadha and Vandin Pṛthu gave 'Mahodaya' (i. e., Kānyakubja), and to the Cāraṇa he gave the 'Kaliṅga country', and also the 'Haihaya country'; and after establishing on the bank of the Revā a city bearing his own name he donated enormous wealth to Brahmins.

25. See *ṚV* 3. 53. 14 and *AV* 5. 22. 14. See also Yāska's *Nirukta* 6. 32.

26. *Cf.* Agnisvāmins's interpretation of the work '*brahma-bandhu*' mentioned in footnote 19 above.

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*māgadhadeśīya* (meaning 'slightly less than a *māgadha* i.e. Magadhan minstrel' or 'one belonging to Magadha') it is suggested that the Vrātī, which was the place of residence of the Vrātyas, was situated, in Magadha.

By its statement that among the Vrātyas there were worthless Brahmins who, 'though (being of Aryan origin but) not being *māgadhas* (Magadhan minstrels), spoke the words of the *māgadhas* (Magadhan minstrels)', [or, 'though not belonging to Magadha, spoke the language of the people of Magadha'] (*brahma-bandhur amāgadho māgadha-vākyaḥ*') the *BŚrs.* (18. 25, pp. 372-3) also locates the Vrātī or Vrātīs in Magadha.

That the Vratyas spoken of in the said *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śrauta-sūtras*, belonged to Eastern India, is also shown by the *Lāṭy-Ś*rs. (8. 6. 9, p. 580), in which a '*phalak-āstīrṇa vipatha*', the peculiar plank-covered wagon-like conveyance of the Vrātyas, is called a *prācya-ratha*' (i. e. chariot used by eastern people).

Thus, from the occurrence of the word '*vrātī*' in connection with the Vrātya-stomas in both the two early *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Sāmaveda* from Pāṇini's rule (4.2.76) referred to above for derivation and interpretation of this obscure word, from the highly significant mention of 'Magadha' in connection with Vrātyas in the *Śrauta-sūtras* of Lāṭyāyana, Kātyāyana and Baudhāyana, and from the fact that the *Lāṭy-Śrs.* calls the Vrātyas' peculiar conveyance '*vipatha*' a *prācya-ratha*', it is evident that the tradition about the Vrātyas' belonging to Eastern India, particularly to Magadha, and their construction of camps or settlements (called *Vrātī*) in this part of the country, was very ancient and long preceded the ages of Pāṇini and the said Śrauta-sūtras and Brāhmaṇas. By its statements that Eka-Vrātya began his roving in the different regions by first moving out to the 'eastern quarter' (*sa prācīṃ diśam anu vyacalat—AV* 15.2.1) and that among his followers or attendants he had a '*māgadha*' the *Athavarveda* connects the said Vrātyas with Eastern India particularly Magadha. As a matter of fact, it is these East-Indian, or rather Magadhan, Vrātyas who have been mentioned in the said works in connection with the description of the *Vrātya-stomas* meant for purification of certain Vrātyas.

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The following abbreviations have been used above :

ĀnSS = Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona).

*AV* = *Atharvaveda*.

*BŚrs* = *Baudhāyana-Śrauta-sūtra*

Ed. = Edition; edited; or edited by.

*JBr* = *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa*.

*Kāty-Śrs.* = *Kātyāyana-Śrauta-sūtra*.

-kh. (as in 'Sṛṣṭi-kh.') = -khaṇḍa.

*Lāṭy-Śrs.* = *Lāṭyāyana-Śrauta-sūtra*.

Ms., Mss. = Manuscript, Manuscripts.

-p. (as in '*Brahma-p.*') = purāṇa.

*PBr* = *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*.

*ṚV* = *Ṛgveda*.

*TMbr* = *Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa*.

Vaṅg = Vaṅgavāsī Press (Calcutta).

Veṅk. = Veṅkaṭeśvara Press (Bombay).

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M. N. GUPTA, Ahmedabad :

# THE RIDDLE OF '*TRIṢAPTĀḤ*' OF *ATHARVAVEDA* I.1.1. IN RELATION TO SYMBOLISM ON SEALS FROM MOHENJO-DARO IN THE INDUS VALLEY (AN ARCHAEOLOGY-AIDED SOLUTION)

## 1. INTRODUCTION :

VISHVA BANDHU in two most brilliant and exahustive expositions of the Atharvan Hymn (an enigmatic hymn), addressed to the tutelary God Vācaspati (Lord of Speech), has brought out in a very erudite manner the tenor of the Hymn through a text-critical study and also from the exegetical point of view. In the first study (textual situation) he quotes Sāyaṇa's paraphrase (*vṛtti*) from his commentary (*bhāṣya*) of this whole verse where this compound *triṣaptāḥ* has been dissolved in three ways :

"ये (लोकवेदप्रसिद्धाः) त्रिषप्ताः (= 1 त्रयो वा सप्त वा, [यद्वा=2 त्रयः सप्त [ =त्रिरावृत-सप्तसंख्यकाः ], अथवा = त्रिगुणिता सप्तसंख्या येषु [ते] एकविंशतिसंख्याकाः] भावाः [=देवाः])........"

He quotes GRIFFITH, who has translated the starza as "the powers of those who wearing every shape and form. the triple seven, are wandering round", and also WHITNEY, who says, "The thrice-seven that go about, bearing all forms ......let the Lord of Speech assign to me today their powers (their) selves (*tanu*)".

VISHVA BANDHU in his second study desires[1] "to know, if possible, who, filed in threes or in sevens or in three-times seven", might have been in the mind of the poet when he indicated the same by his words *ye tri-*

1. VISHVA BANDHU, *Vedic Textuo-Linguistic Studies*,
   (1) No. 2. *AV* I. 1.1, *VIJ*, Vol. II, Part i, 1964, pp. 1-8.
   (2) No. 4. *AV* I. 1.1, *VIJ*, Vol. V, Part i, 1967, pp. 13-24.

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*ṣaptāḥ* ? According to VISHVA BANDHU, "Sāyaṇa thinks that the compound *tri-ṣaptāḥ* might have a reference to any one of the following five groups of Divine Elements (*devāḥ*)":

1. Seven Directions, seven Priests, or (*ṛtvijaḥ*) and the seven *Ādityāḥ*;
2. Seven Rivers, the seven Regions (*lokāḥ*), seven Directions (*Diśāḥ*);
3. Seven *Grahāḥ*, the seven *Ṛṣayaḥ* and seven *Marudgaṇāḥ*;
4. The 12 *Māsāḥ*, the 5 *Ṛtavaḥ*, 3 *Lokāḥ* and the sun being the twenty-first.
5. The Corporal Constituents - i.e. : 5 *Mahābhūtāni*, 5 *Prāṇāḥ*, 5 *jñānedriyāṇi*, 5 *karmendriyāṇi*, and *Antaḥ karaṇa*.

WHITNEY[2] (in his *Festgruss* on ROTH, p.94) has discussed the explanation of '*triṣaptās*' offered by the Comm. and says, "it may mean :

1. three or seven; as the three worlds, the three *guṇas*, the three highest gods; or the seven seers, the seven planets, the seven troops of Maruts, the seven worlds, the seven metres or the like.
2. Secondly, it may mean 'three sevens', as seven suns and seven priests and seven Ādityas, or

   —seven rivers and seven worlds and seven quarters, or

   —seven planets and seven seers and seven Marut-troops.
3. Thirdly, it may signify simply-thrice seven or twenty-one, as twelve months + five seasons + three worlds + one sun; or, five *mahābhūtas* + five breaths + five *jñānendriyas* + five *karmendriyas* + one *antaḥ karaṇa*.

At any rate they are gods, who are to render aid". The second stanza (*AV* I. 1. 2) is translated by WHITNEY as "Come again, Lord of Speech, together with divine mind; Lord of God, make (it) stay *(ni-ram)*; in me, in myself be what is heard."

VISHVA BANDHU further states that, "of the modern Indian translators, Ksemkaran DAS, JAY DEV and SATVALEKAR have more or less taken

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2. WHITNEY, W. D., *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. III, p. iii.

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their clue from Sāyaṇa and with a little bit of tinkering here and there, have practically said ditto to him. RAJA RAM, on the other hand, has sided with the Westerners, particularly with WHITNEY in understanding after ROTH, the numerical compound *tri-ṣaptāḥ* as "the designation of an 'indefinite number' being an allusion to the 'sounds and syllables' (*varṇāḥ*) of which the Vedic learning (*śruta*) that the invoker (*ṛṣi*) had acquired was made up...". According to ROTH, as reported by WHITNEY, the word *śruta*—meant 'sense of hearing', and the term *triṣaptāḥ* indicated the 'hearers' in 'their threes and sevens' (i.e., dozens and scores). GRIFFITH, however, has surmised that the term might have been employed in reference to the Maruts who, even though elsewhere "said to form nine troops of seven each (cf. *ŚB* II.1.7.9) are called the triple-seven, *tri-ṣaptāḥ* in *AV* XIII.1.3." He has also reported the view of WEBER that the second component of the term in question is not the numeral *saptan*—'seven' but *sapta* being derived from √*sap* 'combine' and that accordingly, the compound *tri-ṣaptāḥ*, 'triply combined', might refer to the gods of the three spheres, namely, the heaven, the firmament and the earth."

BLOOMFIELD[3] interprets this as "a prayer to *Vācaspati*, the 'Lord of Speech', for comprehension and retention of the *śruta*, the holy learning following in the *Saṁhitā* : the thrice seven (sounds or syllables) wearing all forms, their powers the lord of speech shall make mine today"[4]. He also states that, "a similar stanza at the end of the book 19(72) contains a blessing at the conclusion of this Veda". In support, BLOOMFIELD [4a] points to the famous *RV* hymn X.125 (*ahaṃ rudrebhir–Devī Sūkta*, Vāc on herself) in praise of Vāc, examplified by *AV* IV.30 and VI.108 as an explicit prayer for *medhā*, 'wisdom'; XII.4. for *ākūti* 'perception'; XIX.41-43 for 'spiritual' elevation and XIX.64 for wisdom and otherworldly advantages on the part of a Brahmacārin..." Other *AV* passages quoted by him are VII.54–61, 66, 67 and XIX.71.

Sir MONIER–WILLIAMS[5] has said that "...according to Professor BENFY, the following twenty-one are the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet,

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3. BLOOMFIELD, M., *The Atharvaveda, Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research*, 1899. p. 79.
4. WHITNEY, W. D., *Festgruss* on ROTH, p. 94.
4a. BLOOMFIELD, M., *op. cit.*
5. Monier-WILLIAMS, *Sanskrit Grammer*, 1962, p. 13, Rule. 13c.

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which are probably *original*, the others being derived from them, in the development of the phonetic system, or introduced from other languages,: a i u; k kh g gh; t th d dh; p ph b bh; n m; y r v; s."

Prof. BENFEY possibly refers to the *RV* VII.87.4. : "उवाच मे वरुणो मेधिराय त्रि:सप्त धामान्यध्या विभर्त्ति" and has translated त्रि: सप्त to mean that *Vāṇī* has at its root 21 letters of the alphabet. This is not in accordance with the large number of possible human speech sounds. Ram Dev TRIPATHI [5a] has enumerated these letters as : (:) ह, य, र, ल, व। क, च, ट, त, प। ग, ज, ड, द, ब। अ, इ, ऋ, लृ, उ। It is thus not possible to decide which are the original 21 letters of the Sanskrit language.

Vedic numbers suggest concepts and these are found in hundreds of stanazs. AGRAWALA[6] in an equally brilliant exposition of *Aśvin-Sūkta* (*RV* I.34.1-12) remarks that in the *mantras* of this hymn the poet-seer has invoked a number of triads or trinitarian principles in which the number three is conspicuous. A rich variety of triplets are found in this hymn which are a great puzzle.

The hymn *AV* I.1.1. is addressed to God Vācaspati (Lord of Speech). VISHVA BANDHU takes a clue from *RV* X. 71. 10 (to overpower his rival-reciters), *RV* VIII. 103. 1 (silencing their speech), *RV* IX.92.6, and X.97.6, 191.3; *AV* VIII.10-11, XII.1.56, etc. (storming their conference) and thinks the Ṛṣi Ṛṣabha of *RV* X. 166 wants to become a Master of Speech because, "superiority in the art of speaking in general and of reciting the Holy Text in particular was the ultimate objective to achieve". He also cites other scattered Vācaspati stanzas (*VS* IX. 1; XI. 7; XXX. 1 etc.) in support of his above contention and finally concludes that in the stanza *AV* I. 1. 1. the "invocation would aim at gaining, through His grace, the utmost and vastest possible power of speech" .."powers (*balā*) of (those) who number three-times sevens (*triṣaptāḥ*)". The *Ṛṣi* Atharvan..."should have in his mind only some familiarly known elements or constituents of

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5a. TRIPATHI, Ram Dev, "Vedic Vāṅmaya me bhāṣā darśana", in भारतीय भाषाशास्त्रीय चिन्तन, Ed. Vidya Nivas MISRA, Jaipur. 1976.

6. AGRAWALA, V. S., "Exposition of Aśvin Sūkta", *VIJ*, Vol. IV, Part I, 1966, pp. 25-35.

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speech and no other objects." He, however, does not accept the many surmises of Sāyaṇa, WEBER and GRIFFITH and thinks their solutions are "an unheard of practice and, therefore, utterly off the mark". He also does not agree with both ROTH and WHITNEY who suggest that "the significance of the term three-times seven (*trişaptāḥ*) must be intimately related to that of the word *śruta*—". With the help of a long array of documentary evidence and textuo-linguistic interpretation of the other words and stanzas he concludes that, "Atharvan employed the two said numerical groupings......as the three genders or the three numbers and the seven cases, with the nouns" and "might also cover the verbs, the triplets standing for the three persons or the three numbers and the four moods"...on the authority of Patañjali's correct identification of the said Bull and interpretation of the *RV* IV. 58. 3 in a linguistic context, as opposed to an allusion to a purely ritualistic context of Śabara, Veṅkaṭa Mādhava and Sāyaṇa.

The texts in which we come across these numbers are too numerous to list. M. D. PANDIT [6], in his statistical study of Sanskrit formations, in Table 4. 3. 17 gives a grand total of all finished verbal forms as 289950616. He has thus given "a picture of the voluminous expanse of the Sanskrit language and the richness of its vocabulary". This fact was possible in the mind of Patañjali. PANDIT has also thus brought out the flexible, growing and genarative nature of the Sanskrit language.

## 2. MULTIPLICITY OF FORMS OF VEDIC DEITIES :

All of us are aware of the multiplicity of the forms of Vedic deities, i. e. , Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Marut etc. , their abodes etc, . We read of the component factors of duads, triads, quartets, pentads, heptads, etc. in Vedic literature in profusion. These triads etc. have been exrpressed by diverse epithets, allusions and elements mythical or real, and of different etymology. The determination of the significance of these in the Indus script has a different function of its own. This will be determined at a later stage in this article.

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6a. PANDIT, M. D., "Pāṇini—Statistical Study of Sanskrit Formations", *ABORI*, Vol. LII, 1977, pp. 175-209.

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It will not be out of place to mention here of the very extensive and brilliant exposition that has been given of these by BERGAIGNE[7], in the chapter on 'Mythological Arithmetic.' According to him :

1. "...the use of these numbers has to be explained by reference to the multiplicity of the abodes etc. attribued to each one of these elements or constiuents which manifest themselves either alternately or simultaneously in the different worlds (p.119).

2. "...We shall do this while studying...two methods of forming of mythological numbers, of which one is by multiplication and the other is by addition of unity (one) (p.119).

3. "...Multiplication becomes practically a raising of the original number to its square (p.120).

4. "...Words signifying objects or beings which form pairs have each of them very often, in the Vedic language, the termination of the dual number affixed to them. When two duals are juxtaposed they form certain irregular compound, e. g., *mitrā-varuṇau*, which also occurs in the ancient language in the form of *mitrā-varuṇā*. But sometimes the two duals remain also separated, *mitrayoḥ...varuṇayoḥ RV* VI.51.1. Or it may be that one of the two words only is used in the dual, while the other is in the singular and we thus find *mitrā* side by side with *varuṇaḥ*, *RV* VIII. 25.2. Then again, only one of the two words in the dual number *mitrā,* may denote simultaneously *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, *RV* I.14.3, 36.17; V.65.6. This last fact shows very well that the simultaneous use of duals, or one dual and one singular of the same word constitutes a veritable pleonasm" (p.121).

5. "...Certain special features similar to those...in the use of the Vedic dual are to be found also in the use of the plural (p.121).

6. "...The pleonasm may be, in the use of the dual, much more pronounced...In *RV* III.8.8, the double dual *dyāvā-kṣamā,* expressing twice the pair 'heaven and earth'.

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7. Abel BERGAIGNE, *Vedic Religion*, (Eng. Tr. by V. G. PRANJAPE), Poona, 1968 Vol. I.

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7. "...side by side with this redundance we meet with, incomplete enumerations. Thus in *RV* I. 154.4 and VII. 5.4 the expression *tridhātu*, denoting the three worlds, is followed by an enumeration which contains only heaven and earth... These rough enumerations, which remain incomplete, are a counter-part of the pleonastic enumeration.

8. "In the *RV* stanza IV. 53.5, *trir antarikṣam...trī rajāṁsi... trīṇi rocanā...tisro divaḥ...prithivīs tisraḥ*, in support of the division of the universe into fifteen worlds... is a manner more or less capricious (unsteady and fickle...), there is a pleonastic use of the synonyms... accumulations of the plurals of different words.

9. "...the number seven has had already an independent mythological value." Several mythological heptads are enumerated in the Veda.

10. "...a substitution of seven places of Agni by thrice seven places in *RV* I.72.6, thrice seven forms of treasures in I.20.7, thrice seven forms of the cow in VII. 87.4, thrice seven females milked or suckled by Soma in X. 86.21, thrice seven rivers in X. 64.8, sacrifices with twenty-one forms in X. 114.7.

The significance of these numbers as given by BERGAIGNE has been under dispute by a large number of modern exegetes, but this need not be considered here.

This paper is principally a philological interpretation of the Atharvan hymn I.1.1.

## 3. PHILOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION :

The mnemotechnical tradition of the Veda, which in my opinion, has been duplicated in the Indus seals with great fidelity has been established by me in a number of articles[7abc]. This type of transmission

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7a. GUPTA, M. N., "Vedic Metre in Indus Script", *VIJ*, Vol. XV, Pt. II, Sept. 1977, p. 188-96

7b. *Ibid.* "Onomatopoetic Symbols in Indus Script" Under publication in Hoshiarpur).

7c. *Ibid.* "The embryology of the Indus Script or the process by which the Indus Script took birth and formation." (submitted for publication in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*).

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far outdoes any manuscriptal type of transmission. The present paper, however, attempts to present archaeological evidence in the form of relevant seals from Mohenjo-daro which in my opinion bring out the vehicles and their tenor in their proper perspective and establish the primary meaning of the riddle of '*triṣaptāḥ*'.

The copious quotations and references given, even perhaps at the cost of clarity, are only an aid to the exposition and understanding of the text of the seals (including the motif), which is not very clear by itself. All possible analogies detected in various Indus seals have been investigated which are even remote forms of each idea.

I do not lay any claim to have given a definitive picture of the symbolism of all these seals which offer many difficulties of interpretation, my principle objective being, in the absence of complete decipherment of all the Indus signs, to offer mathematical solutions of certain obscure seals, or at least suggestions for explaining these obscurities. It may be slightly premature in the light of our present stage of decipherment but I do not want to deny to myself the light which may be thrown by this interpreation on the solution to a host of other problems connected with the script and the language which it reveals. To an interpreter of a literary work nobody denies the right of finding out the laws of thought, in the minds of Indus seers, philologers and *Ācaryas* in the conception and execution of their work in producing these seals.

We all quite well know that the Vedic exegetist has recourse to two types of expedients-homonyms or the multiplication of the senses of one and same word (due to the presence of an oxytone or paroxytone etc.) for majority of verses and does great violence to the words, at the cost of grasping the complexity in the ideas. The Indus seals on the other hand, appear to have a simple vocabulary although they admit a complexity of ideas. I doubt there is much of mythological phraseology which any one of these seals reveals since the inscriptions are very brief.

According to K. V. ABHYANKAR[8], "A *pada* is a wording capable of an independent sense... A word, as also its part, is a *pada*, if it possesses

8. ABHYANKAR. K. V, 'Prolegomena to the Veda-Padapāṭha", *ABORI*, Vol. LIV, 1973, p. 10.

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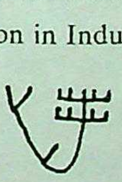
a sense which is distinctly conveyed by it. Accordingly a compound word, possessing a compound sense is a *pada*. So also the members of a compound word, are separate *padas* carrying their independent senses."

A question arises here. If a numeral is written out not in words (i. e., as *trișaptāḥ*) but in numerical notation (*viz.* 3.7 or $3 \times 7$ or $7 \times 3$), or if it is written out as a compound expression (21—) denoting "a sense which is somewhat different from the literal sense of the component words", would the above contention or difinition still hold good? I think it should. The question arises because of the peculiar brevity (making a virtue out of necessity) of the Indus inscriptions written in a mnemonic form using a large variety of numerical signs, found in no ancient script in any part of the world. I have in two previous articles on Indus Script[9],[10] explained this phenomena in detail. On hundreds of Indus seals the inscriptions have numerals (figures in characteristic notational form by use of long and short verticle strokes), suffixed or prefixed by a few formal and non-formal signs (vowel and consonantal, etc.).

Again according to ABHYANKAR[11], "The compound *dvandva* has the sense of both words as predominant. The *bahuvrīhi* compound has the sense of both the words subordinated to the sense of a third word connected in sense by the relation of possession with the two or more members of the compound... The accent falls on the first member except in cases where the second member has some special importance of its sense". According to Pāṇini ( II. 2.25 ) the compound '*trișaptāḥ*' is a *bahuvrīhi* (numerical adjectival) compound.

*i.* No 21 is written as *ekavinśati* (WHITNEY-Rule 476g). Formal notation in Indus script, according to the rule derived by me[12] should

be  —an instance of multiplication by a prefixed number *dvidaśa* ( WHITNEY-Rule 477c) plus one.

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9. GUPTA, M. N., "Brevity of Indus Seal Inscriptions – Why and How?" *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. xxviii, 1979.
10. GUPTA, M. N., "Digitary Notation in Indus Script" (Under Publication).
11. ABHYANKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
12. GUPTA, M. N , Number 10 *supra*.

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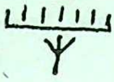
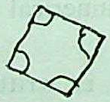
*ii.* In the Mohenjo-daro seal (*MIC* Pl. CXII. 382, with a three-headed Ibex motif—fig. I, serial 7) 21 is written as  (*triṣaptāḥ*), without any sign of accent or a prefixed formal sign for the word *ye*, an "instance of multiplication by making the larger number a dual or plural and multiplied by the smaller number used as an adjective," (MACDONELL-104 b) thus *ttiṣaptāḥ*. Also according to him, the *bahuvrihis* "with. numerals, form *dvi*, two upwards, as their first member, form sing. neuters (always ending in accented a with a collective sense". WHITNEY (Rule 483) states that, "The numbers from 5 to 19 are inflected somewhat irregularly, as plurals, save in the nom-acc., where they have no plural form, but show the bare stem instead."

According to WILSON[13] (Rule 279 d), "the combination of cardinal numbers to form multiples are considered to be compound *tatpuruṣa* terms; as *ekavinśati*."

Now what has all this grammatical consideration to do with the interpretation of the seal in question ? The seal inscription (shown in vertical strokes only as above) is not preceded by any alphabetic character which could be a 'finding index' or 'key letter' or a 'diagnostic sign' to find the exact place of occurence of the numeral in one of the four verses of a Ṛgvedic stanza like the word *dvā* in the *RV* I. 164.20 (*dvā suparṇā*) which I could locate by the Indus sign  and easily and correctly connect it to a seal from Mohenjo-daro (*MIC* Pl. CXI. 388)[14]—

13. WILSON, H. H., *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Sanskrit Language*, p. 863.
14. GUPTA, M. N, "On the RV Riddle of the Two Birds in relation to the symbolism of the two Birds on a seal from Mohenjodaro" Presented at the Indian Science Congress session in Jan. 1978).

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To the dilemma (riddle), "who, fiied in threes or in sevens or in three-times sevens" set by the poet Atharvan, VISHVA BANDHU finds a solution in the only correct interpretation of Patañjali in a linguistic concept and his own textuo-linguistic criticism and studies.

"*Do the Indus seals provide a better and a more authoritative answer to the riddle ? The answer is YES*. The answer, of course, lay burried in the ruins of Mohenjo-daro for all these 5000 years. In the paragraphs to follow my attempt would be to bring out all evidence to support this proposition.

## 4. MATERIALS AND METHODS :

The unsatisfactory state of available philological exegesis for this Atharvan Hymn and a number of other Ṛgvedic riddle hymns has prompted me to take recourse to the material of these most ancient inscriptions of the Indus seals which has not been used by any linguistic research scientist. I have allowed myself to be guided by these seal incsriptions to divulge their message rather than coarse them to provide preconceived solutions and offering unintelligent and flimsy explanations for various obscurities met with. I am using the Indus seals as a new exegetical instrument for the interpretation and exposition of the text of this riddle in a systematic manner as I have done for *RV* I.164.20[14].

(*a*) *Peculiarities of digitary notation in the Indus script—*

*i.* In the Veda use of numerals like 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 etc. in hundreds of stanzas is most conspicuous, a phenomena not found in the canonical literature anywhere in the world. The same phenomena is duplicated in hundreds of seals from the Indus valley.

*ii.* Each one of the more commonly occuring numerals (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7) is seen to have been written out in various forms with different disposition of the long and short verticle strokes, e. g., the numeral 3 is written in 14 different ways.[15]

(*b*) *Grammatical Rules involved in the writing of numerals—*

The following Rules are quoted from WHITNEY[15] :

Rule 475 —The simple cardinal numerals for the first ten numbers are the foundation of the whole class of numerals.

15a. WHITNEY, W. D., *Sanskrit Grammar*.

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Rule 476 —The forms made with *dvā* and *trayas* are more usual than those with *dvi* and *tri*, which are hardly to be quoted from the older literature (V. and BR.).

Rule 477*c*—Instances of multiplication by a prefixed number are occasionally met with; thus *trisaptā* thrice seven; *triṇava* thrice nine; *tridaśá* thrice ten.

Rule 126 1—Combination or Cardinal numbers to form compound numerals, thus : *ékādaśa* II, *ékaviṅśati* 21, *triśata* 103, as a special and primitive class of copulatives. They are accented on the prior member.

Rule 480— To multiply...make of the multiplied number a dual or plural, qualified by the other as any ordinary noun would be.

Rule 482— Gender is distinguished only by the first four. *Dva* two is dual only. The inflection of the cardinal numbers is in many respects irregular.

Rule 205*a*—Monier-Williams The numerals from 5 to 19 have no distinction of gender but agree in number and case with the nouns to which they are joined.

The above details are provided because of the peculiarly complex method of writing numerals and numeral derivatives in Indus inscriptions. The identification of the same is beset with many difficulties. They are puzzles with not only one correct fit but many.

*c. Tri-ṣaptāḥ in relation to seals from the Indus Cities—*

Both components of this expression find innumerable places of occurrence individually or both in Vedic stanzas as technical expressions, ful-filling a certain function of the Divinity in each formula. These are only as sources of information on the riddle under consideration. Each in itself has been idealised by the poet-seer to represent important and excellent objects, ideas, images, aspects, and concepts in particular situations.

Now the same phenomena is found duplicated in the seal inscriptions. The inscriptions which seem to me to contribute towards the identification of '*triṣaptāḥ*' are only about a dozen.

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A word of warning is very necessary at this stage. *The Indus exegete together with Indus scribe could ouly be the true exponents of these inscriptions.*

Many connotations and shades of meaning are apparent in this Atharvan stanza also which have been encountered, as unexpected difficulties, in view of Sāyaṇa's *vṛtti* from his *bhāṣya*, quoted by VISHVA BANDHU (*supra*). That the whole stanza is somewhat deceptive and finer shades of meaning conveyed by the dissolution of the compound word are difficult to arrive at has also been admirably brought out by VISHVA BANDHU from his treatment on contextual and situational uses of various *padas* in the stanza. I would like to say that a symbolic script and language of the Indus inscriptions expresses a little but suggests more. A symbolic language does not yield a simple logical meaning. Abstract symbols are difficult to interpret.

My task to equally difficult if I push myself too far in some incautious identifications from these seal inscriptions. The seal inscriptions are, however, the most authentic manuscriptological evidence of the original reading of Vedic stanzas. However, it would be to our advantage if we have for detaild study, a reasonably large number of both Vedic text material and as many as available Indus seal inscriptions, to help us to arrive at their true meanings.

In doing this, I have used the Hindi translation of the modern neologist Swami DAYANANDA[16] whose complete translation of the *RV* was only available to me. Not all these occurences, however, will be discussed in detail. A study of the occurrences of these numerals, their diverse epithets, allusions and interpretations and all facts pertaining to their contextual and situational uses and when these were pronounced, may give us some explanation of the relation between the seals, and Vedic text material as well as the numeral in the Atharvan riddle. It was considered advisable to determine first the possibilities of a significant use and structural function of Indus numeral notation before declaring their uses, and whether they are in grammatical harmony with what is expected of

16. DAYANANDA SARASWATI, *Ṛgveda*, Hindi trans., Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, New Delhi.

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this rich variety of graphic notation of each numeral (3,7, both components of twenty-one and 21) as well as of other numerals (4, 5, 6, etc.).

The real meaning of the Hymn fell into oblivion till revived by Patañjali and observed by VISHVA BANDHU 3000 years after the relevant seal was incsribed in Mohenjo-daro, when Sanskrit was the language of the people and the child learned the language in the home before his initiation as a Brahmacārin in a school of Śikṣā in Indus cities. During Patañjali's time Sanskrit was no longer the language of the people. According to GHOSH[17], "In the days of Pāṇini... Sanskrit was still a living language of some short. But in the days of the grammarian Patañjali it must have become more or less like Latin in mediaeval Italy. In any case, Sanskrit had ceased to be a living language long before the days of Aśoka, (cf. KEITH, *HSL*, pp. 8-17)."

As such Patañjali's interpretation, accepted by VISHVA BANDHU, held good for his days when the biggest bug-bear for a Brahmcārin would be memorising of innumerable declensions and conjugations and all grammatical studies which to him were a very disaggreable necessity, when faced with a vast assemblage of purely grammatical treatises, as ancillary to the study ol the Veda, when he was required to "pass a noviciate of some years in the grammar alone."

Patañjali, in the Introductory Chapter (*Paśpaśāhnika*) of the *Mahābhāṣya* has interpreted the *RV* IV.58.3 (*catvāri sṛngā trayo asya pādāḥ*) to mean thus: "four horns"—four parts of speech, nouns, verbs, prepositions and particles; "three feet are his"—the three divisions of time, viz. past, future and present; "Two heads,"—two kinds of words—eternal and artificial; "Bound three fold"— bound in three places, viz. chest, throat and head and the tenor proposed is—the great God is Sound. We should study grammar so that we may be like the great God.

The stanza has been explained by the followers of different schools in different ways as Soma is the Deity of the *Mantra*.

17. GHOSH, B. K., "Language and Literature," Chapter XVI, Book V, in *The Vedic Age* (Ed. by Majumdar and usalkar. 1957 p. 350 ff.).

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Another stanza—*RV* I.164.45 (*catvāri vāk parimitā padāni*) is interpreted by Patañjali to mean; "Speech is measured in four quarters—four parts of speech—nouns and verbs, prepositions and particles. The *Brāhmaṇas* who are wise know them. The fourth quarter of speech men speak."

Other interpreters have found it difficult to subscribe to this view.

Swami DAYANANDA's interpretation of *RV* IV. 58. 3:

*catvāri sṛngāḥ*—4 Vedas; 4 parts of speech; *viśva, tejas, prajña, turīya*; *dharma, artha, kāma, mokṣa.*

*trayo pādāḥ*—3 *savana* ( 3 daily oblations ); 3 divisions of time; 3 (*karma, upāsanā, Jñāna*); 3 (*manas, vāṇī, śarīra*); 3 (*śraddha, yoga, purūśārtha*).

*dve śīrse* — 2 ( *Vyavahāra, paramārtha* ); 2 (teacher and pupil); 2 (*unnati, mokṣa*).

*saptahastāso* —7 kinds of metres; 7 cases; 7 *prāna*; 7 (5 *karmendriya, śarīra, ātman*)

*tridhā baddho*—3 (*mantra, brāhmaṇa, kalpa*); 3 (*hṛdaya, kaṇṭha, śira*); *śravaṇa, manana, nididhyāsana*; 3 (celibacy, good deeds, high thinking).

The rich variety of numerals and their interpretation from the esoteric point of view is remarkable.

If the stanza is stripped of its concealed garb and the words in the stanza are interpreted in accordance with their established usage (*yogic* and not *rūḍhi*), it is possible to arrive at the real meaning underlying the stanza, from the parallel usages of the controversial numeral '*triṣaptāḥ*' used to denote the powers of the Lord of Speech, which means interpretation in proper perspective.

The full implication of the term '*triḥ*' seems to be three of the same type, class, composition, form, figure, shape, etc. Discrepencies between the different interpretations of the same hymn or stanza, coupled with the incongruities inherent in interpretations of followers of the Sāyaṇa school, show that the original meaning is still not

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available and one is left to his subjective choice of any of these interpretations to serve and suit his object.

d. *Passages giving clear indications of the location of 'Triṣaptāḥ' in the Ṛgvedic Cosmos—*

A wide range of interpretations for '*triṣaptāḥ*' is available in Vedic stanzas. These interpretations though divergent are admissible from the esoteric point of view. The concept of '*triṣaptāḥ*' is not vague for the particular context if properly interpreted. Many riddle-riddled hymns remain unintelligible on account of the mysteries around them. They are no mythological riddles in my opinion.

The burden of proving this proposition must fall on the Ṛg-vedic passages discussed below which clearly bring out the significance of the numeral as I proceed to show.

I have prefered to adopt an *ādhidaivika* approach in place of an *ādhiyājñika* or *ādhyātmika* approach as the Indus seal inscriptions, in my humble opinion, do not admit of any other interpretation as they were inscribed in the days of the compilation of the Vedic texts. Ritualistic interpretation started with Skandasvāmin, the first known commentator of the Veda in V. S. 68, to be followed by Mādhava and Sāyaṇa in the 14th century A. D. In this approach I thought my search for truth will become smooth and unfettered and free from pre-conceived ideas, prejudices and personal bias.

Scattered throughout the Veda are indications of the extent of the use of these numerals:

a. *RV* X.130.4 and 5 give the names of the various metres and their deities *Ṛg-Pratiśākhya* XVI.14 says, "There are, however, three classes of the *Ṛṣi* metres, each consisting of seven (metres); the others are (only) of one kind (or class)."

b. *RV* I.133.6a. *trisaptaiḥ sūra satvabhiḥ* (with 21-i. e. like ten *prāṇas*, ten *indriyas*, one *jīva*-work with diligence).

c. *RV* VII. 87.4. *Uvāca me varuṇo medhirāya triḥ saptā nāmāghnyā bibharti*...(21 names which *Vedavāṇī* declares-5 *mahāyajña* and 16 *saṁskāra*—Oh ! treasury of all knowledge (*Varuṇa*) spoke (*uvāca*) to me...

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*d.* *RV* VIII. 69.7cd. *madhvaḥ pītvā sacevahi triḥ sapta sakhyuḥ pade.* That 21 (twenty-one) only are the abodes of the Devas is never settled. In the head we have 2 eyes, 2 nostrils, one organ of taste. These seven each receive three grades of sensations-*uttama*, *madhyama* and *adhama*. Hence $7 \times 3 = 21$ grades of sensation or informations reside in the head (*ādhyātmika* interpretation), *Jīva* has a *sakhā* in *Paramātmā*.

*e.* *RV* IV.1.16ab. *te manvata prathamaṁ nāma dhenoḥ triḥ sapta mātuḥ paramāṇi vindan*... (*Vedavāṇī* spread over seven kinds of Gāyatrī and other metres and remembered thrice).

*f.* *RV* I. 72.6a. *triḥ sapta yad guhyāni tve it padāvindan nihitā yajñiyasaḥ* (*yad*) those, (*nihitā*) established, (guhyāni) concealed and acceptable gifts, (*padā*) worthy of possession (sapta) seven (four Vedas, talent, scientific knowledge and effort) through (*triḥ*) *śravaṇa*, *manana*, and *vicāra* (*avindan*) receive...Tenor—We should follow the foot-steps of the learned and the wise.

*g.* *RV* VIII. 96.2ab. *atividdhā vithureṇā cid astrā triḥ saptā...sanū saṁhitā girīṇam*... When one overcomes twenty-one kinds of obstacles and mounts the path of success...

*h.* *RV* VIII. 59.5cd. *asmān sv indrāvaruṇā ghṛtaścutaḥ tribhiḥ sāptebhir avataṁ śubhas patī*. Keep us under the protection of three groups of seven :

*i.* *pṛthivī*, *jala*, *agni*, *vāyu*, *virāṭ*, *parmāṇu*, *prakṛti*;

*ii.* *nāga*, *kūrma*, *kṛkala*, *devadatta*, *dhanañjaya*, *icchā*, *prayatna*;

*iii.* five *prāṇas*, *mana*, *buddhi*;

Tenor—Those who make good use of these means achieve success.

*i.* *RV* I. 20.7. *te no ratnāni dhattan trir ā saptāni sunvate ekam-ekaṁ suśastihiḥ*.

(*suśastibhiḥ*) the good actions and deeds; (*sāptāni*) seven--*karmas* of four *āśramās*, performance of *yajña*, respect for elders, giving of gifts (three deeds); (*ekam-ekaṁ*) having performed one by one; (*triḥ*) thrice-threefold happiness and joy; (*sunvate*) receive; (*te*) those wise people; (*ratnāni*) treasures-knowledge, prosperity and wealth; (*dhattan*) reap benefit.

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The rich variety of meaning of the symbolic numerals 3, 7, 21 and many others brought out by teachers is an example *par excellence* of the best quality of ācāryas and the best educational institutions that one could also have expected during the Indus epoch. These and many other enigmatic passages provided enough material for intellectual and spiritual development of the *brahmacārins* in their search for knowledge reposing in she sacred hymns of the Veda.

## 5. INTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN INDUS VALLEY INSCRIPTIONS :

The imagination of many scholars, during the past five decades, saw in the inscriptions ideas from the Veda but none has been able to connect even one single inscription with a positive Vedic stanza or so-called Vedic mythology.

With all the rich and perplexing caricaturing in these two seals (one with a three-headed Ibex and the other a conjoint figure with heads of three different animals—Fig. I), we can still find the common kernel of three and seven in intimate relation with their final product, i. e., twenty-one. They are overlaid with two major fancies of the Indus scribe. No rational interpreter can ignore or refrain from looking for reasonable motives for the presentation of two very physiognomically identical seals. There are no superficially discrepant notions in these two seals.

(*a*) *Seal with an Inscription* (*MIC*. Vol. III, Pl. CXII. 882 at serial 7) :

This shows a tetrapod with three identical heads as outgrowths from the torso (a triad). The animal heads look very much as belonging to an Ibex. (The Ibex is a group of wild goats of the genus Capra of the Ungulate order, family Bovidae. There are four species found in the Alps, Pyrennes, Himalayas and other mountainous districts of the old world. The male is brown or grey in colour, with long and recurved horns; the female is grey, with shorter horns. The horns are unbranched, crossed infront with deep ridges, which grow continuously and are never shed.)

The Indus designer has expressed the simile with an amount of freedom which goes to augment the pleasing[18] and penetrating quality of

18. Chatterji, K. C., *Patañjli's Mahābhāṣya, Paspaśāhnika*, Usha Memorial Series, No. 7, 1957.

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style of idealisation with apt illustrations which facilitate easy understanding. (There appears a little zoological inaccuracy in that the two horns on two lateral heads are directed forwards instead of backwards which is normal as in the middle head. This can be ignored as of no consequence to the primary meaning). Even after deducting the unusual presence of the animal in Mohenjo-daro, we may not quarrel with the fancy of the Indus scribe as to this and that detail. Goats are known to be born with genetic defects (two-headed goat).

Fig. I

| S. NO | Place | Plate NO | Seal No | Inscription | Other reference |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | HRP | XCIX | 643 | [illegible] | [illegible] Motif, SIGN. NO. |
| 2 | " | CV | A(b) 62 | [illegible] | Sign No 14 |
| 3 | MJD-MAR | CXIX | 25 | [illegible] | " " 15 |
| 4 | MJD-MAC | LXXXIII | 25 | [illegible] | No Motif |
| 5 | " | LXXXVI | 198 | [illegible] | Unicorn |
| 6 | " | LXXXVIII | 298 | [illegible] | Bison |
| 7 | MJD-MAR | CXII. | 382 | [illegible] | |
| 8 | " | CXXV | 399 | [illegible] | Sign No CCLIX |
| 9. | HRP | CXVI | 4042 | [illegible] | Sign No. 441 |
| 10 | HRP | CVI | A-263 | [illegible] | Sign No. 15 |
| 11 | MJD-MAR | CXIX | H-12 | [illegible] | -do- |
| 12. | HRP | CVI | PIV-114 | [illegible] | -do- |
| 13 | MJD-MAR | CXIX | H-51 | -DO- | -do |
| 14. | MJD-MAC | XCVI | 494 | | No Inscription |
| 15 | -DO | XCIX | B | | conjoint animal |

MNG

The *Vedic Concordance* records only two stanzas from Vedic texts, as below :

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*a.* *RV* I. 146.1...*trimūrdhānaṁ saptaraśmiṁ gṛṇīṣe*...

*b.* *MS* IV. 12.5b: 192. 12...*trimūrdhānam trisaṁdṛśam*...

The above two Vedic stanzas seem to be the closest fits to the two Indus seals under consideration, and more so to the seal with the three-headed Ibex and leaves little to doubt the accuracy of the fit; (*trimūrdhā-naṁ*) three grades of thought, *uttama*, *madhyama*, *adhama* which reside in the head (shown by the three heads in the three positions); (*saptaraśmiṁ*) knowledge of the Veda contained in Gāyatrī, etc., seven kinds of metres, (*gṛṇīṣe*) you praise and pray for (you are fit to receive the same).

The multiplicity of the heads (3 heads) in the stanza is aptly related with the actual drawing of the three headed Ibex on the seal denoting the object of comparison. The word incicative of the number of the subjects (*trimūrdhānaṁ—triguṇitā* in *triguṇitā saptasaṅkhyā*) is clearly seen in the actual portrayal of a three-headed Ibex.

I am mindful of the relative insecurity of reconstruction of the imagery of the Indus scribe. Nevertheless, in handling these Indus seals, my own conviction of the possibility of a near reconstruction has grown and not shrunk. Certainly if my analysis is not wholly correct it is well founded. The question of philological evidence does not always arise in the case of quasi-mathematical seal inscriptions like this and many more which I shall take up for similar textual study.

Numeral notation is the theme of over 60 percent of these seals. This is interesting in view of the fact that very often whole hymns use numerals (dyads-*RV* II.39; triads-*RV* I. 34; pentads; septets; etc. VISHVA BANDHU[19] has very aptly stated that, "This method of remembering various groups by the number of their respective constituents has been quite popular in all ages and everywhere in respect of, practically, all human pursuits, intellectual as well as general. Obviously enough it was necessary that these numerical groups should be understood and interpreted according to the nature of each particular context as at issue." In the present case the Atharvan stanza I. 1.1 and the "riddle of twenty-one" form the context and the subject of the Indus seal as the nearest fit, in view of the engraved numeral and the motif.

19. VISHVA BANDHU, *op.cit.*, 2(2), *supra*, p. 20 k.

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We all are aware of the famous riddle-hymn of Dīrghatamas (*RV* I. 164.5) with the "three concealed forms of speech *guhā trīṇi nihitā neñgayanti* as contrasted with that which forms the speech of man[20], or" the three places of speech which have been described with the epithet 'concealed' have been contrasted with human speech[21], or 'The holy word', *vāc*, has also four places or abodes (*nāma, ākhyāta, upasarga* and *nipāta*) three of them are concealed and the fourth (or *nipāta*) is that of the human speech (*vāco manuṣyā vadanti—RV* I. 164. 45d).

Bose[22] has interptreted the stanza as below :

> "Four are the grades of speech that have been measured,
> Men of divine knowledge who are wise know them.
> Three of these kept in secret make no motion,
> people speak only the fourth grade of speech."

(b) *Seal with no Inscription* (Mackay, Vol. II, Pl. XCVI–494 and Pl. XCIX-B at serial 14 and 15) :

This seal which bears no inscription presents the additional interest of displaying three heads of three different animals (a bull, an Ibex and an unicorn) on the torso of a rhinocerous which is partly concealed. This is really an enigmatic seal.

Another Vedic stanza (complementary stanza) referring to the three heads and also the only stanza in the whole of the Vedic cosmos, is *RV* I. 146. I ( in the *Vedic Concordance* ) "*trimūrdhānaṁ trisaṁdṛśam* (*MS* IV.12.5b; 192.12".

In the absence of an "indicatory letter" on the seal it is difficult to find the best or exact "fit" meaning to it. An impulsive solution is, that four persons (*ācāryas*) are joined in a singularly herculean task of solving Vedic riddles.

The Vedic Texts show the use of different numbers and in different groupings by the poet-seers to express the different kinds of texts in which these numbers appear and the inter-relationship they propose between the various elements of the celestial phenomena.

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20. Abel Bergaigne. *op, cit.* Vol. II. p. 20.
21. *Ibid.* p, 21.
22. Bose, A. C., *Hymns from the Vedas*, 1966, p. 297.

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Abel BERGAIGNE[23] and MACDONELL[24] have dealt with the subject of the use of numbers very exhaustively in their volumes on Vedic Mythology. Their systematic search of all possible analogies, possible forms of each idea, possible interpretation and functions of obscure passages and the light thrown on Vedic exegesis from a scrutiny of the hymns of the *RV* and comparative text is extremely exhaustive and show the measure of their exegetical activity. BEERGAIGNE has written a whole chapter on Mythological Arithmatic and the methods of forming mythological numbers, multiplication of mythological numbers and the use of pleonastic enumeration.

In his opinion "each one of the numbers 6, 9, 21 is a product of the two factors arrived at by two different systems of division, as applied first of all to the entire Universe."[25] As regards seven he says, "It is very likely that this number has had already an independent mythological value".[26] There are mythological numbers which correspond to the division of time, e.g., 12 months of the year (*RV* I. 25.8; VII. 103.9); 30 days of the month (*RV* III.55.18—horses yoked in six lines of five each). The standard numbers "denote a totality and designate certain groups formed by all the beings or all the objects of a common nature",[27] and they "might have been employed very often without any direct allusion to any systematic formation of such groups"[28].

The Indus seals, which make a profuse use of the numerals in about 40% of the inscriptions, are an epigraphic evidence corroborating the use of these numerals in Vedic texts, of which they provide an incontrovertible evidence. The final proof of this will, however, be available only when the script is completely deciphered. We, however, cannot for the present ignore the usefulness of the present interpretation which is a guide to future research studies along sound scientific hypotheses.

23. *Op. cit.*, p. 20.
24. MACDONELL, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, 1963.
25 ABEL BERGAIGNE, *op.cit.* Vol. II, p 123.
26. *Ibid.* p. 132.
27 *Ibid.* p. 135.
28 *Ibid.* p 135.

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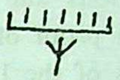
## 6. HERAS—ON THREE-HEADED ANIMALS FROM MOHENJO-DARO:[29]

In my opinion, the primary meaning of the numeral notation (  ), which appears alongside of the three-headed Ibex was not known to HERAS and so he has said, "We do not find a plausible explanation of its three heads, nor have the two signs carved on that seal any apparent relation to the figure......" "Was it perhaps the representation of a sort of a demon or evil spirit ?". Surely, HERAS failed to dive deep into the recesses of the mind of the Indus scribe who was very clear in his idealisation of the *RV* stanza I.146.1 and could not grasp the message of the seal. The scribe had a purpose to write this numeral (21). There was sense and rationale in adding the numeral, which has been shown earlier[30] to be the numeral 21.

HERAS interprets the second seal with three different heads and no inscription as *Vāhanas* (vehicles) of the divinities of the later Indian pantheon, thus : "the bull of the three-headed monster as the *vāhana* of *Ānil*, the proto-type of *Subrahmaṇya* in India and of *Enlil* of Sumer,...... the remaining head as *vāhana* of *Amā*, the future *Umā-Pārvatī*." He also acknowledges that the last two *vāhanas* were exchanged for a peacock and a lioness, which goes against his theory.

We may not enlarge on these suggestions of HERAS any more as Ṛg-vedic Gods were not associated with any *vāhanas*.

HERAS has described two other parallel examples of three-headed animals from Raichur from later Hindu iconography. One is a granite block and the other a graffito on a flat stone (12-13 A. D.). In both these the animals represented, according to HERAS, are a 'ram' and 'deer' respectively. Zoologically they appear to belong to the family Bovidae because of unbranched horns (the male deer has branched horns or antlers) which are shed and grown anew every year and are straight sheets from the head with deep ridges as shown in the line drawings in his

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29. HERAS, H., "Three-Headed Animals in Mohenjo-daro", *ABORI*, Silver Jubilee Vol., p. 187-195.

30. GUPTA. M. N., No 10 *supra*

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article. HERAS equates this delicately carved three-headed deer to Triśirā, the three-headed son of Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅkā, "...waiting for engagement with the *vānara* (Hanumān) hero after Lakṣmaṇa's recovery", and concludes that, "the three-headed monsters of Mohenjo-daro, or atleast some of them may be the representations of demons and evil spirits", and that the Raichur demons "are a magnificient proof of the continuation of the artistic traditions of the proto-Indians of the Indus Valley, in the historic period of Hindusthan."

His conclusions are not in conformity with the epigraphic evidence now presented.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS:

These seals have been free from "erosion of oral transmission and linguistic evolution" hence fully reliable as source and reference to the basic Vedic texts as they lay buried for over 5000 years at depths beyond reach of rapacious predators. They have no secondary accretions. They like the *RV* are the oldest literary monuments of India. They contain no narrative matter, but scattered and fragmentary references.

The difficulty in the interpretation of the text of the seals is very complex as the texts represent the early stages of thoughts of the Vedic *Ṛṣi*. This is further increased by their brevity expressed in a most difficult script which has defied all attempts at decipherment.

My attempts at interpretation have been based on the principle that "scientific investigations should proceed from the better known to the less known." I began with the information available in the large collection of *Vedic Bibiliography* of significant writings pertaining to the Veda and the excavations in the Indus Valley.

My attempt at the interpretation of the Atharvan riddle is materially different from that of the majority of my predecessors. In the absence of a positive solution, I have provided my interpretation and the possibilities of interpretations which did not suggest themselves to any one before me. I might have pushed my search in excess for analogies, beyond certain limits, but this has been done in an effort to systematise the whole research endeavour and make the seals intelligible and readable. There was no ready-made system available to me to approach the seals. I had no bias in my mind prior to the study of the Indus script. The

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hypothesis and thesis progressed simultaneously when I started to learn to write the characters of the Indus script like a child in a primary class. I have written every sign or symbol perhaps a 100 or more times each. As their familiarity grew stronger, the hypotheses on which my thesis was to be built grew clearer and clearer and the evolution of my ideas about interpretation gained more and more strength. More and more facts about the scientific nature of the study evolved in my mind when the formative period started setting in, the seal inscriptions yielding and revealing the message to me which they were carrying. There was no ambiguity about the messages they transmitted. I had only to systematise them and give them an appropriate garb in a prudent manner worthy of a philological subject, being studied by a simple philologue who has had no formal training in linguistics at a school or college.

If Vedic exegesis receives an impetus from this humble effort no one will feel as happy as I would.

Individual caprices (sudden impulse of the mind) have no limits set to them and I may be one of those research workers. There are many ways of committing an error but only one way of being correct and I was always conscious of this dictum.

The paradoxical nature of the script made me search for an equally paradoxical text on wnich these seal inscriptions could be based and there is none more paradoxica' than the Veda itself. I cannot lay a claim to have been able to unravel some enigmatic seal inscriptions.

I now come to the big difficulty of the stanza (*AV* I. 1.1) and its co-relation, as the nearest and the second closest fit with the three-headed Ibex and the *RV* I.146.1 (*trimūrdhānam*) or the seal with no inscription and three heads of three different animals on one body. Which of the two seals is more calculated to satisfy one's reason—the seal with the numeral 21 along with a three-headed Ibex or the seal with no vocabulary (in words or figures) ? I have clearly stated the grounds for both on which I would be glad to welcome comments, with all sincerity of purpose. The proofs I have adduced may appear to be too bizarre at first sight to those who have not devoted as much time as I have to learn the script and the manner in which to interpret the seal inscriptions. In conclusion I would say :

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1. The collosal effort made by the Indus seer and the scribe for the presentation of the text of the Veda in a highly developed technique is praiseworthy. This technique has no parallels in the history of the art of paleography of antiquity.

2. This mnemo-technical device was invented with meticulous care and accuracy to represent the most obtruse thoughts of the Veda in a language of symbols and signs.

3. The symbologies are a great irritant and embarassment to an interpreter who has to strain every nerve to interpret them correctly.

4. The presentation of the text in mnemo-technical symbols was a method devised for use both for teaching the Brahmacārins and for debates among *Ācāryas* in schools of *Vedāṅgas* in Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

5. The exposition of the symbolism was the prerogative of the Indus seers and Divines. The scribe, through his graphic art, made it life-like and stimulating, profound and thorough and finally a heritage to be left for millennia to come, even if the traditional oral transmission method was given up by inept inheritors.

6. It must be remembered that the Indus seer was the sole exponent of the meaning of the symbols used on the seals and the concrete imagery inspite of the many meanings. The exact pin-pointing by an interpreter of the subtle points has dangers of ambiguity and obscurity but their value lies ln the fact that a number of meanings can be comprehended which could form the subject of detailed and extensive discussions at a '*pariṣad*' (seminar or assembly) in those times.

7. When the compiler of the *AV* placed the hymn I. 1.1–4, at the beginning of his collection, he must have found it particularly elevating and Patañjali, in his time, could not have made an unimaginative approach, for he understood the associations and accepted meanings of the symbolism of seven.

8. The Indus scribe was a master of his symbolic art and expressed his similies with a large amount of imagination to augment the pleasing and penetrating quality of his style.

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## YET THE DIFFICULTY IS NOT SOLVED.

The suggestions offered in this paper bring us to the conclusion that certain seals from the Indus Valley carry riddles from the Veda and can be used as a new tool in Vedic exegesis.

× × × ×

[My manifold obligations and thanks are due to Shri J. M. Navavati, Director (Retd.), Shri C. M. Atri, Director, Gujarat State Archaeology Directorate and Shri D. S. Malvania, Director, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, for their ungrudging help in allowing me use of their libraries and providing useful criticism and advice from time to time.

I also record my gratitude to the western and eastern Indologists whose valuable contributions on the Indus script have guided me and profited me much in my research work.]

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Umesh Chandra SHARMA, Aligarh:

# ĀCĀRYA ŚAUNAKA*

Śaunaka is a great exponent of the Vedas. Several ancillary texts of the Veda have been attributed to his authorship. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya in his well-known commentary *Vedārthadīpikā* on the *Sarvānukramaṇī* of Kātyāyana refers to ten books written by Śaunaka for the preservation of the *Ṛgveda*. These are— (1) *Ārṣānukramaṇī*, (2) *Chando'nukramaṇī*, (3) *Devatānukramaṇī*, (4) *Anuvākānukramaṇī*, (5) *Sūktānukramaṇī*, (6) *Ṛgvidhāna*, (7) *Pādavidhāna* (8) *Bṛhaddevatā*, (9) *Prātiśākhya* and (10) *Śaunakasmṛti*.[1] This considerable number of the texts, makes it amply clear that Śaunaka had been very keen on the preservation of real character of the *Ṛksaṁhitā*.

The *Caraṇavyūhasūtrapariśiṣṭa* is yet another text known to be a work of Śaunaka. Literally meaning 'Exposition of the Schools' it gives valuable information about the Vedic schools (śākhas). This book is very important as well as useful, for it contains primary information, which is very necessary to understand the basic characteristics of the four *Saṁhitās* of the Veda. Apart from these, Śaunaka is accredited with the author-

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1. शौनकीया दशग्रन्थास्तदा ऋग्वेदगुप्तये ।
आर्ष्यानुक्रमणीत्याद्या छान्दसी दैवती तथा ॥
अनुवाकानुक्रमणी च सूक्तानुक्रमणी तथा ।
ऋक्पादयोर्विधाने च बार्हद्दैवतमेव च ॥
प्रातिशाख्यं शौनकीयं स्मार्तं दशममुच्यते ॥
—Ṣaḍguruśiṣya in *Vedārthadīpikā*.

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ship of other texts as well. They are the *Śaunaka Gṛhyasūtra* and the *Śaunaka Gṛhya Pariśiṣṭa*.[2] The *Śaunakīyā Caturadhyāyikā* is a *Prātiśākhya* on the *Atharvaveda*. It is also considered to be a work of Śaunaka. It was edited by W. D. WHITNEY.[3] Baladeva UPADHYAYA, however, considers it to be a text written by Kautsa.[4] The fifth *Āraṇyaka* of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* is also attributed to Śaunaka. A text called *Śaunakīya-Śikṣā* is also known to be a work of Śaunaka. He also wrote a commentary on the 31st chapter of the *Mādhyandina-Saṁhitā* of the *Yajurveda*, which is also known as the famous *Puruṣa-Sūkta*. According to the *Matsya-Purāṇa* he authored a text on the *Vāstuśāstra* also.[5] The commentary of Śaunaka on the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* is considered to be a very authentic one and as such the famous commentator Uvaṭa did not comment on this *Sūkta* saying—'*asya-bhāṣyam Śaunaka nāma ṛṣir akarot*.'

Śaunaka was a great teacher of the Vedic lore. His contribution to it is immense. Apart from the *Vedārthadīpikā* of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, which provides certain personal details of Śaunaka, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* also throw specific light on his greatness as a teacher (*ācārya*). He is said to be a pupil of a teacher named Pathya. The prominent among the pupils of Śaunaka are said to be Āśvalāyana, Vyāḍi and Kātyāyana--all of whom have made significant contribution to the Vedic tradition. Śaunaka, in itself, is a patronym, which indicates that he was a son of a certain Śaunaka. He is said to be a great Bhārgava, i.e., a descendant of Bhṛgu. Some texts mention that the first name of Śaunaka was Gṛtsamada. One Gṛtsamada was a famous *mantrakāra* of the first *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda*. But unless established positively, this identification can not be taken to be certain. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya mentions that a sacrifice was performed by Gṛtsamada Śaunahotra, son of Śunahotra Bhāradvāja, where Indra himself came to participate. On this occasion, Gṛtsamada Śaunahotra protected Indra from the onslaughts of the demons. Indra, being pleased on this act, blessed him to be born in next incarnation as Śaunaka Bhārgava in the illustrious race of the Bhṛgus. The *Purāṇas* refer to him as a son of Śaunaka and a grandson of

2. AUFRECHT, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, s. v.
3. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, VII, 1862.
4. वैदिक साहित्य एवं संस्कृति, Fourth Edn., Varanasi, 1973, p. 285.
5. *Matsya-Purāṇa* 252. 3.

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Gṛtsamada The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* gives his genealogy in the following order[6] :—

Śunahotra
|
Gṛtsamada
|
Śunaka
|
Śaunaka
|
Ugraśravas

According to the *Ārṣānukramaṇī*[7], Śaunaka was a son of Śunahotra but later on Śunaka started to call him as his son and thus he got the patronymic Śaunaka.

The *Mahābhārata*[8] mentions him as a *Kulapati*. The *Kulapati* is one who heads a *gurukula* or University and can manage the boarding and lodging arrangement for ten thousand students besides arranging for their teaching and studies. The *Purāṇas* also refer to Śaunaka as a great performer of prolonged sacrificial sessions. Mention of at least three of them spanning the period of twelve to 1000 years is found in these texts. The venue for these sessions used to be the famous Naimiṣa-forest which also happened to be the seat of the University headed by Śaunaka. At this place itself Sūta, son of Romaharṣana, recited whole of the *Mahābhārata* before Śaunaka and his disciples. Śaunaka is also said to have given discourse to king Śatanīka, son of Janamejaya. One thing is very certain from the foregoing discussion that Śaunaka was a great teacher, exponent as well as propounder of the Veda. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* enumerates him among the great Ṛgvedic *Ācāryas*.[9] This can be tabulated as follows :—

6. *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, 92 93.
7. *Ārṣānukramaṇī* II. 2-3.
8. *Mahābhārata* I. 1.1.
9. *Vāyu-Purāṇa*.60. 13-64.

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- Paila
  - Indrapramati
    - Mārkaṇḍeya
      - Satyaśravā
        - Satyahita
          - Devamitra Śākalya
            - Mudgala
            - Golaka
            - Khālıya
            - Matsya
            - Śaiśirī
          - Rathantara
          - Vāṣkali-Bhāradvāja
    - Ruru
      - Śunaka
        - Śaunaka
  - Vāṣkala
    - Bodha
    - Agnimāṭhara
    - Parāśara
      - Yājñavaklya

Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*[10] has also referred to Śaunaka which bears testimony of his being a great *ācārya.* Actually Śaunaka left behind him a legacy of great teachers. On the basis of the information available in various texts, the *śiṣya-paramparā* of Śaunaka can be shown as :—

Śaunaka
|
Āśvalāyana
|
Kātyāyana
|
Patañjali
|
Vyāsa

The date of Śaunaka has been fixed variously between 700–400 B.C. by several western as well as oriental scholars. Pandita BHAGAVADDATTA[11], while discussing the time and contemporaries of Śaunaka, concludes that Śaunaka was a later contemporary of the *Mahābhārata*, i.e., three or four generations after the war. In his opinion several great *ācāryas* like Śaunaka, Āśvalāyana, Kātyāyana, Pāṇini, Vyāḍi, Kautsa,, etc. were all contemporaneous to one another because they refer to the names of one

10. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* IV. 3. 160 – शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि ।
11. वैदिक वाङ्मय का इतिहास : ब्राह्मण तथा आरण्यक ग्रन्थ, Delhi, 1974, pp. 240-43, 251.

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another in their texts. V. K. VARMA,[12] after taking several factors into consideration, places Śaunaka between 800–600 B.C. which seems to be the most reasonable fixation of the date of Śaunaka.

The foregoing details lead one to the conclusion that the contribution of Śaunaka in preserving the true shape of the Veda, the *Ṛgveda* in particular, is very remarkable. One shudders to think, what would have been the shape of the Vedic interpretation, had Śaunaka and his pupil Kātyāyana not contributed to its preservation. We are grateful to these great *ācāryas* for illuminating the path leading to the true meaning of the Veda.

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12. ऋग्वेद-प्रातिशाख्य (एक परिशीलन), Varanasi, 1972, pp. 21-22.

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M. D. BALASUBRAHMANYAM, Tirupati:

# ON PĀṆINI VI. 1.158

The paper attempts to examine the necessity for teaching the rule VI. 1. 158 by Ācārya Pāṇini.

1.1. *Anudāttaṁ padam eka-varjam* (*A* VI. 1. 158) is one of the Pāṇinian rules in which the consideration of brevity is allowed to override intelligibility. The rule means that a word with the exception of one syllable is unaccented, that is to say, in a word only one syllable is accented. The rule admits of two interpretations : "Either a word has no *udātta* but one. Or a word is *anudātta* except for one (vowel)".[1]

1.2. By the word *ekam* in the rule should be understood 'the one' for which a single *udātta* or the *jātya-svarita* is explicitly enjoined in the specific accentual rules of Pāṇini (=P.). With the exception of 'this single accented vowel', the remaining syllables of a word are gravely intoned. Such an explanation is fully supported by the following statements in the *Svarasiddhāntacandrikā* (=*SSC*)[2].

एकग्रहणं च तत्र तत्र विधीयमानस्य स्वरस्य उपलक्षणम् । तेन यस्मिन्नेकस्मिन्पदे येन सूत्रेण यावन्त उदात्ताः स्वरिता वा विधीयन्ते तावतो वर्जयित्वा शिष्टास्तत्पदस्था अचः अनुदात्ता भवन्तीति सूत्रार्थो निष्पन्नः । अविरोधादेकपदे स्वरितोदात्तयोर्मेलनम् ।

1.3.1. Adverting to the purpose served by the expression *padam* in the rule, Śrīnivāsayajvan, the celebrated author of *SSC*, relying his support

1. Paul THIEME, "On the Identity of the Vārttikakāra", *Kleine Schriften*, Teil 2, 558 (Wiesbaden, 1971).
2. Ed. K. A. S. SASTRI, Annamalai University Sanskrit Series No. 4, 20 (1936).

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on Patañjali (=Pat.) and critically examining the views of later Pāṇinīyas (Kaiyaṭa, Bhaṭṭoji, Haradatta and the author of the *Svaramañjarī*) on the rule 158, brings in two arguments in the *SSC*[3], which may be summarised as under :

1.3.2. *Padam* must be stated in the rule. If it is not reckoned as part of the rule, it (158) will be applicable only to a sentence Consequently a sentence will contain only one *udātta* vowel, and the remaining words in it (the sentence) will be regarded as *anudātta-s*. Since the rule should be assigned to a word, *not* a sentence, *padam* must be included in 158.

1.3.3. If, for the sake of the argument, we cross out *padam* from the rule, it would then read : *anudāttam ekavarjam*. The refurbished *sūtra* would invariably be linked to the Pāṇinian rules *tout ensemble* respecting the accentuation of roots *cum* suffixes. The immediate result would be that, if a disyllabic or polysyllabic word has two constituents—'he nuclear root (=R) plus the peripheral suffix (=S)—the R will retain its root-morphemic accent (*dhātusvara-*) and the S will continue to hold its own bound morphemic accent (*pratyayasvara-*) in one and the same word. In fact P. wants a word which will be either a barytone (root-accented) or oxytone (suffix-accented), but generally never of the type in which the *udātta* falls simultaneously on the root and the suffix in one and the same word. He, therefore, sanctions imperatively the admission of *padam* in the *sūtra* for the purpose of negating two *udātta-s*—one on R and the other on S—falling simultaneously on the disyllabic or polysyllabic word.

In conformity with the two arguments, *padam* must be considered the *key-word* to the understanding of the rule 158.

2.1. I now proceed to consider Pat.'s arguments on the rule 158 only to test the logical correctness of P.'s formulation regarding the meaning and purpose of the rule. What is attempted here is just a réchauffé of Pat.'s disquisition. The details regarding his criticism on the rewording of the rule 158 by Kātyāyana (=Kt.), 158 as a *Paribhāṣā* rule and the general maxims relating to the operations of accentual rules are omitted in this paper.

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3. *Ibid*. 26-8.

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2.2. According to Pat. the rule does not admit of the interpretation: With the exclusion of one word in a sentence[4] the remaining words have the grave intonation. The meaning of the rule, on the contrary, is that, with the exception of one vowel, the rest of the syllables in a word (or of a word) contain *anudātta-s*. He then points out that the rule might have been specifically worded either as *anudāttāḥ pade*: *anudātta-s* in a word or as *anudāttāḥ padasya* : *anudātta-s* of a word. Such a specification is superfluous, since we understand the elision of *matUP* in *anudātta* which should signify : possessed of *anudātta* vowels (*anudāttavat*). Consequently we translate the *sūtra* : With the exception of one vowel the remaining syllables of a word are possessed of *anudātta* vowels—just as the words *puṣpakāḥ* 'flower spots' and *Kālakāḥ* 'black spots' literally convey the idea, 'possessed of flower spots' and 'possessed of black spots' respectively. Alternatively the peripheral *—a—* of *anudātta* denotes the *matUP* sense so that *anudātta* would mean possessed of *anudātta* vowels. Correspondingly in the words *tundaḥ* 'possessed of a big stomach' and *ghāṭaḥ* 'possessed of a high neck', the bound morpheme *—a—* is postposed to the nucleus in the sense of possession (*—mat—*). P.'s wording of the *sūtra* is, thus, justified on the above grounds.[5]

2.3.1. The purpose served by the rule is concisely summed up by the following verse:

आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य च ।
पृथक्स्वर निवृत्त्यर्थम् एकवर्जं पदस्वरः ॥

The rule which restricts a single accent in a word, has for its recognized function the elimination of the separate, individual accent of an augment, alternative element, nucleus and the suffix simultaneously.

2.3.2. It deserves mention in this connection that, if the rule 158 is not enunciated, a sequence of *udātta-s* will fall at the same time on a polysyllabic word. If a word has four syllables, and if all the syllables were to be accented, then a sequence of four *udātta-s* will fall on the word simultaneously. But we wish for one accented syllable *alone* in a word which may be treated as a Barytone, Proparoxytone, Paroxytone or

4. वाक्ये पदमेकं वर्जयित्वा पदान्तराण्यनुदात्तानि भवन्तीति पूर्वपक्षः (Kaiyaṭa). *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya* (=*PMB*), Ed. B. Joshi, Vol. V, 142 (Bombay, 1945).
5. *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya* (=*VMB*), Ed. F. Kielhorn, III, 97, 1-6 (Poona, 1885),

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Oxytone, and this remains valid in accordance with the rule 158. To take a concrete example cited by Kaiyaṭa, in the compound *āmalakījaḥ* (=āmalaki + jan + Ḍa (*Ḍa* by *saptamyāṁ janer ḍaḥ*, *A* III. 2.97) + sU), a sequence of five *udātta-s* may occur. But the desired accent of the word is *āmalákījaḥ* where the proparoxytonesis could be justified on the ground that the *para* rule (*A* VI. 2.83 : *antyāt pūrvaṁ bahv acaḥ*) overthrows the *pūrva* rule (*A* VI. 2. 82 : *dīrgha-kāśa-tuṣa-bhrāṣṭa-vaṭaṁ je*) through the force of *vipratiṣedhe paraṁ kāryam* (*A* I.4.2).

2.3.3. Pat. then illustrates the four accent types—*āgama*, *vikāra*, *prakṛti* and *pratyaya* with suitable examples in which the application of the accent rule 158 would allow only one accented vowel in a word, and eliminate the sequence of *udātta-s* occurring in the same word. The postulation of 158 is, therefore, indispensable[6].

2.4. At this juncture Pat. raises the objection that the rule 158 is not directed to the above purpose, that is to say, the prevention of the sequence of *udātta-s* falling on the same word is necessary. If the simultaneous occurrence of *udātta-s* or their alternate occurrence in a word, were meant by P., the rules : *tavai ca antaś ca yugapat* (*A* VI. 2.51) which enjoins *yugapatsvara* and *rikte vibhāṣā* (*A* VI. 1.208) which allows the *udātta* to fall on alternate positions of a word — will be considered redundant. We draw the inference from P.'s teaching that, as a general rule, neither would two *udātta-s* occur at the same time in a word, nor could the *udātta* fall on alternate positions of a word. In view of the above explanation, the *sūtra* 158 sounds superfluous.

2.5.1. Kt. expresses this idea in the first half of the verse :

यौगपद्यं तवै सिद्धं पर्यायो रिक्तशासनात् ।

P. has specifically read *yugapat* in the rules : *A* VI. 2.51 : *tavai cāntaś ca yugapat* (e.g. *ánvetavaí* : *RV* I. 24. 8); *antaś ca tavai yugpat* (*A* VI. 1. 200 : *Kártavaí* : *MaiS* I.15.13) and *ubhe vanaspaty ādiṣu yugapat* (*A* VI.2. 140 : *vánaspátiḥ*). He has also read the alternative occurrence of the *udātta* in *rikta*[7]—(*ríkta*-or *riktá*-) in accordance with the rule *A* VI. 1. 208 (Para 2.4).

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6. *VMB* III. 97. 8-9.
7. The oxytonic *riktam* is attested in *MaiS* IV. 6. 2; *KaṭhaS* 42.5 and *KāṭhakaS* 27. 5.

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2.5.2. The answer to the objection raised above is given in the second half of the verse:

उदात्ते ज्ञापकं त्वेतत् स्वरितेन समाविशेत् ॥

The two *sūtras* VI. 2.51 and VI.1.208 might serve the purpose of the rule 158 only with reference to the *udātta*; but in the case of *svarita* the simultaneous or alternative occurrence of it (*svarita*) might take place. In order that the *samāveśa* (combination) of *udātta* with *svarita* may be prevented, Kt. regards 158 as essential[8].

2.5.3. Pat.'s opinion, however, seems to be that such a combination does not arise, since the *svarita* necessarily contains the *udātta*. In fact the *jñāpaka* (or the formula, that is, the prevention of simultaneous or alternative occurrence of *udātta-s*) holds good even in the case of *svarita*. Accordingly, Pat. regards the rule 158 as unnecessary, and he expresses this idea in the following terms:

स्वरितेऽप्युदात्तोऽस्ति । तस्मान्नार्थोऽनेन योगेन ।

3.1.1. Before examining the question whether 158 is necessary or unnecessary, I may refer to two *sūtras* : स्वरितवर्जम् एकोदात्तं पदम् (II. 1) and अनुदात्तम् (II. 2) which occur in Kt.'s *Śukla-yajurveda-prātiśākhya*[9]— the *sūtras* which remind us of P.'s wording of *A* VI. 1.158. As THIEME puts it "the reflection of Pāṇini VI. 1.158 is found in *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* (=*VPr.*) II.1"[10]. According to Kt., then, with the exception of (the primary) *svarita*, a word (is the domain of) one (and only one) *udātta* (II.1) and (the remaining syllables of the word are) *anudātta-s* (II. 2).

3.1.2. It is worthwhile here to quote the relevant passages from the two available scholia on *VPr.* II.1—

एकं स्वरितं प्रथमं वर्जयित्वा एकोदात्तं पदं भवति, सर्वस्मिन्नेव पदे एकमक्षरं स्वरितम् उदात्तं च ( or वा ) भवति, अन्यान्यक्षराणि अनुदात्तानीति सूत्रार्थः । (Uvaṭa)

and

8. *PMB* V. 145.

9. Ed. V. V. SARMA (Madras, 1934). *Cf* WEBER, *Indische Studien*, IV. 152 (1858) and GHOSAL, *Vāj. Pr.*, Pt. 1, 55 in *Indian Studies* (Calcutta, 1964).

10. THIEME, *op. cit.*, 196.

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एकं स्वरितं वर्जयित्वा पदम् एकोदात्तं स्यात् । सर्वस्मिन्नेव पदे एकमक्षरं वा उदात्तं वा भवति । तं त्यक्त्वा अन्यान्यक्षराण्यनुदात्तानीति सूत्रार्थः ।

(Anantabhaṭṭa)

3.2.1. It deserves mention in this connection that Uvaṭa makes a similar observation in his gloss on the aphorism—उदात्तपूर्वं स्वरितमनुदात्तं पदेऽक्षरम् (*Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya* III 7)[11] as under:

सर्वस्मिन्नेव पद एकमक्षरमुदात्तं वा स्वरितं वा भवति, शेषमनुदात्तम् ।

3.2.2. In view of the commentarial interpretations on *VPr.* (1-2) and *ṚVPr.* (III. 7), the description of a word-accent is that each word, with the exclusion of the independent circumflex intonation, is the domain of a single *udātta*. Obviously there is, in each word, but one vowel which has the *udātta* or the primary *svarita*, and the remaining syllables of the disyllabic or polysyllabic word are atonic (*anudātta-s*). Needless to say, the *Prātiśākhya* theorists who are practical phoneticians as well, and P., the structuralist, have identical views on word-accent.

4.1. The same picture has been beautifully painted by Dionysius Thrax (C. 100 B. C.) who says in the *Téxnē Grammatikē* that "the grammatical word corresponds to the phonologically definable domain of one and no more than one acute or circumflex accent..."[12]

4.2. Dionysius of Halicarnasus (34-12 B.C.)[13] voices a similar sentiment when he points out that "while in polysyllabic words, whatever their number of syllables, there is but one syllable that has the acute accent (high pitched vowel) among the remaining grave ones."

4.3. In view of what has been outlined in paras 1 to 4 (*supra*), we might state with certainty that as a general rule, a word in Sanskrit and

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11. Ed. V. K. VARMA (Banaras Hindu University Sanskrit Series, 1970), III. 7, p. 220.

12. R. H. ROBINS, "Dionysius Thrax...", *TPS* (1957), 93. *Cf.* note 2 for BEKKER, *Anecdota Graeca*, 688.

13. He wrote *Peri Sunthesos* (De Compositionae Verborum); see PAULY, *Wissowa*, V. 1, Spale 963. *Cf.* STURTEVANT, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, 98 (Philadelphia, 1940).

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Greek has one *udātta* or acute accent as its summit tone, the remaining syllables of the word being *anudātta-s* or grave (with the exception of enclitics, etc.). This is shown by P.'s concordant testimony, the accounts given in the *Prātiśākhyas* and comparative IE linguistic evidence.[14]

5. I now return to the question raised in para 3.1.1, whether the rule 158 should be formulated or not. We may recall to our minds that Pat. regards the rule 158 as unnecessary based on the argument contained in para 2.5.2.

5.1. Kt. raises the objection that P.'s teaching of the *yugapatsvara* and the alternate falling of the *udātta* in his rules, would, as a matter of implication (*jñāpaka*—) could allow the acute accent to rest with only one single syllable of a word elsewhere (that is, in places where the *yaugapadya*—is not prescribed). Therefore, there is no need to teach the rule 158. Nevertheless, Kt. meets the objection raised above by pointing out that the rules enjoining *yugapatsvara* might take place only in the case of the *udātta*, and in order that the combination of the *udātta* with the *svarita* might be prevented, the rule 158 must be read.

5.2. Pat. thihks that, since the *svarita* contains the *udātta*, the implication holds good even in the case of *svarita*; hence the rule 158 is not necessary.

6. The *samādhāna*—to the objection raised above stems from the following considerations.

6.1. Śrīnivāsa in the *SSC* has justified the purpose served by the word *ekam* and *padam* in the rule 158; and, therefore, the rule 158 is a 'must' for him (Paras 1.2; 1.3.1).

6.2.1. Pat. tests the logical correctness of P.'s formulation regarding the meaning and purpose served by the rule (Paras 2.2; 2.3.1; 2.3.2), thereby implicitly accepting the validity of the rule 158. Yet he regards the rule as unnecessary for the reason, as bas already been shown in Para 2.5.3.

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14. For comparative evidence, see *The System of Kṛt. Acceatuation in Pāṇini and the Veda*, 3-4 (Tirupati).

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6.2.2. Commenting on Pat.'s statement ( *PMB* V. 145 ): स्वरितेऽप्युदात्तोऽस्ति, Kaiyaṭa remarks—

उदात्तश्रुत्या स्वरितस्य अग्रहणम् इह शास्त्रे, तद्युक्तम् । मुख्यस्य उदात्तस्य अचः सञ्ज्ञिनो ग्रहणसय युक्तत्वात् । तथा च 'उदात्तस्वरितयोर्यणः स्वरितोऽनुदात्तस्य' ( *A* VIII. 2.4 ) इत्यादौ भेदेन स्वरितो निर्दिष्टः— which is glossed by Nāgeśa as under:

अनेन स्वरितविषयत्वं ज्ञापकस्य असङ्गतम् इत्युक्तम् ।

It is clear that the meaning of P.'s rule 158 is that with the exception of one *udātta* or *svarita*, the remaining syllables in a word are gravely intoned. If by implication the above meaning were to be understood in view of P.'s enunciation of the simultaneous or alternate occurrence of the *udātta* in his rules (Paras 2.5.1 and 2.5.2), the *svarita-grahaṇam* cannot be obtained by the *udātta* in the Science of Grammar. To put it particularly, the idea—with the exception of one circumflex vowel, the rest of the syllables are gravely intoned in a word—cannot be obtained by implication. As a matter of fact in such Vedic words as *kartavyam*—a perispomenon where the end-syllable is *svarita* and the other vowels are *anudātta-s*—we require that the term *ekam* of the rule 158 should include the *svarita* too, as the *hauptton*[15], besides the *udātta*.

Thus, according to the two glossographers, by the designation *udātta*, the acute vowel as forming part of the *svarita*, cannot be included, since P. enumerates the separate *nirdeśa* of *udātta* and *svarita* in *A* VIII. 2.4 (and VIII. 4,67).

6.3.1. Subsequently Pat. seems to change his mind and silently admit of the necessity for formulating the rule 158, and this is expressed in the following terms :

आरभ्यमाणेऽप्येतस्मिन् योगे··· ।

In fact by implication one might not accept the view that with the exception of one *svarita*, the other syllables of a word are *anudātta-s*. Hence arises the need for teaching the rule 158.

15. Read my paper, "The Summit Tone of a Vedic Word", *IT* Vol. VI, 35-9 (Torino, 1978) for details.

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6.3.2. Kaiyaṭa has pointed out that for clarity and absence of ambiguity, the rule 158 should be taught, since the *jñāpaka* creates confusion:

ज्ञापकादस्पष्टा सन्दिग्धा वा प्रतिपत्तिर्भवति । साक्षाद्विधाने तु स्पष्टा च असन्दिग्धा चेति ···योग आरभ्यते ।

6.3 3. If the *sūtra* (158) were to begin its operation, there arises the difficulty which, in the language of Kaiyaṭa, is as under:

इदमेवानुदात्तस्य विधायकं लक्षणमिति मत्वा दोषोपन्यासः ।

6.3.4. Kt. at this juncture introduces the first *vārttikam* (=*vt.*) *ad* 158. If we understand P.'s definition of word-accent : With the exclusion of one vowel, the rest are gravely intoned, then the binary opposition (*vipratiṣedha*—) with regard to the simultaneous application of two *udātta*-rules cannot be maintained, since the *udātta-s* are substitutable at the same time in a finished word. Consequently he reads the second *vt.* and refurbishes 158 as एकाननुदात्तं पदम् which means that a word should be without the *udātta* excluding one vowel.

Pat., however, thinks that grammatical correctness cannot be secured only by rewording 158, as Kt. has done it. Rounding up his critiqué on the second *vt.*, Pat. says that, alternatively, the *anudātta*—in the rule 158 need not be taken in its technical sense: possessing no *anudātta*. Pat., therefore, rejects Kt.'s reformulated rule, and says: यथान्यासमेवास्तु, that is to say, let the rule (158) *stand as it is.*

7.1.1. I shall now furnish additional evidence in support of my claim that the framing of the rule 158 is necessary.

7.1.2. The rule 158—regarded as a *Paribhāsā* technique by Pat., since its sphere of operation lies in the entire corpus of the *A.* (including the accentual rules)—heads the section on 'accentuation' in the first *pāda* of the Sixth Book. To put it differently, the first 157 rules (in Book VI, *Pāda* 1) deal with reduplication, vocalisation, substitution, *sandhi* and morphophonemic statements, while the rule 158 defines word-accent, and tehis sction on accentuation goes upto the end of the second *pāda* of the VI Book (VI. 1.158-223; VI. 2.1-199), and other Books as well. As a

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structural linguist, P. finds it covenient to begin the section on accentuation by providing us with a definition on word-accent—a definition which parallels the *Prātiśākhyas*, the Greek grammars and the comparative Indo-European linguistic evidence (Paras 3.1.1 to 4.2).

7.1.3. In the *Paspaśāhnika*[16], while discussing the method of learning correct words, Pat. admits of the grammatical procedure that one might resort to general rules (*utsarga*—) and special rules (*apavāda*– ) or exceptions in linguistic analysis : he says,

कश्चिदुत्सर्गः कर्त्तव्यः कश्चिदपवादः ।

Accordingly, I am inclined to treat *A* VI. 1. 158 as a general rule, and *A* VI. 1. 200; II. 50. 140 and VI. 1. 208 as exceptions or rules of specification. By structuring such a procedure in grammatical description, the necessity of teaching 158 remains valid.

7.1.4. To conclude, P.'s formulation of the rule अनुदात्तं पदम् एकवर्जम् is justified on the ground established in this paper.

●

16. *Cf.* P. S. S. Sastri, *Lectures on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, 48 (Ann. Univ. Skt. Series No. 9, 1944).

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P. R. Vora, Ahmedabad:

# SOME NOTEWORTHY WORDS OF PĀṆINIAN SYSTEM

An attempt is made in this small article to explain a few noteworthy words often met with in the works of the Sūtrakāra, the Vārttikakāra and the Mahābhāṣyakāra. The meanings of these words given and discussed here are based on their interpretations given in the following works:

(1) *Kāśikā* on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini

(2) *Kāśikā-nyāsa* by Jinendrabuddhi

(3) Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* on the *Mahābhāṣya*

(4) *Padamnñjarī* of Haradatta on the *Kāśikā*

(5) *Śabdakaustubha* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita

(6) Nāgeśa's *Udyota* on *Mahābhāṣya-Pradīpa*

While discussing the meanings of these words, the original sources are not merely indicated but also quoted as briefly as possible.

(1) अनार्षः—*worldly*; what is not found in the Veda. It is the opposite of आर्ष [ तस्माद् ( आर्षात् ) अन्यः अनार्षं लौकिकः । न्या० (स) on P. (āṇini) VI. i-129]. See आर्षः (below)

(2) अनितिपरम्—that after which इति is not used. It is the opposite of इतिपर (=what is followed by इति).

(3) अनुपदिष्टम्—lit. what is not the subject of उपदेश, what is neither expressly mentioned in the Māheśvara Sūtras nor implied by the grahaṇaka-śāstra is *anupadiṣṭa* ( cp. अनुपदिष्टत्वं नाम अक्षरसमाम्नायेऽपठितत्वं ग्राहकशास्त्रेणागृहीतत्वं च । उ० (द्योत) on महा० (भाष्य) I. i.2.

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(4) अन्यतरस्याम्—This निपात is sometimes used to denote, not option, but aggregation (समुच्चय) like च (cp. अन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणेन मतुप्समुच्चीयते न तु प्रत्ययो विकल्प्यते । का० (शिका) on P. V. iii. 97; cp. न्या० thereon : अनेकार्थत्वान् निपातानामन्यतरस्यामिह समुच्चये वर्तते ।

(5) अन्वर्थग्रहणम्—etymological interpretation of a word; including a word in a Sūtra in its etymological sense. This is done in contrast to the inclusion of a word in its technical sense (संज्ञाग्रहण), e. g. in अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः, the word अप्रत्ययः means 'what is not prescribed by a rule of grammar', since it is to be taken in its etymological sense. But in इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य (P. VIII iii. 41), अप्रत्ययस्य is used in its technical sense, since प्रत्यय therein is a संज्ञा).

(6) अपभाषणम् or अपभाषितम्—use of a word which although correct is considered incorrect due to its faulty pronunciation. Same as म्लेच्छितम् (cp. म्लेच्छितमपभाषितम् । अत्रार्थस्याविस्पष्टतया शब्दस्याविस्पष्टत्वम् । etc. पद० (मंजरी) on P. VII. ii. 18 (cp. भर्तृ० P. 11, l. 8).

(7) आचारः—usage of words (cp. आचारे पुनर् ऋषिर्नियम वेदयते etc. महा० I. i. 1 and आचारे प्रयोगे । प्र० (दीप) thereon).

(8) आतः—an indeclinable meaning 'for that reason' (cp. सूत्रतः एव हि शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते । आतश्च सूत्रत एव । महा० I. i. 1 and आत इति निपातः । अतश्च हेतोरित्यर्थः । प्र० thereon).

(9) आदेशः—substitute. It ts of two types प्रत्यक्ष (eg. अस्तेर्भूः ।) and आनुमानिक (eg. एरुः ।); for in the latter case इकार stands for a स्थानी ending in इ and उकार stands for an आदेश ending in उ (cp. प्र० on महा० on स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ । P. I. i. 56).

(10) आर्षः—what is met with in the Veda (ऋषिः); According to न्या० and पद०, ऋषिः means 'the Veda, and whatever usage is found in the Veda is आर्षः (cp. ऋषौ वेदे भव आर्षः । न्या० on P. V. i. 129).

(11) इति—(indeclinable) used in Sūtras etc. for many purposes. In ordinary language a word followed by इति conveys the word-form (स्वरूप) and not its conventional meaning but in the *Vyākaraṇa Śāstra* a word followed by इति conveys the conventional sense of the word and not word-form (cp. सोऽसौ स्वस्मान् पदार्थान् प्रच्युतो, याऽसौ शब्दपदार्थकता तस्या लौकिकमर्थं प्रत्याययति । महा० on 'नदेति विभाषा ।'. also see : लोके शब्दविशेषकार्थस्य

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प्रतीतिः शास्त्रेऽर्थविशेषकशब्दस्य । इति शब्दसमभिव्याहारे विपरीतमिति । उ० on महा० (P. 338) ].

(12) इतिकरणः—The usage of इति as shown above is called इतिकरणः. It is explained thus by कैयट—क्रियते इति करणः । इतिश्च असौ करणश्च इतिकरणः । It is also called इतिकरणम् and it has many purposes to serve; some of which are:

(i) to suggest reason (इतिकरणः हेतौ । see न्या० and पद० on का० on P. VIII. iii. 6.)

(ii) to suggest the meaning (इतिकरणोऽर्थनिर्देशार्थः । महा० on अदर्शनं लोपः ।)

(iii) to point out something ( इतिकरण एकनिपातोऽयमिति प्रदर्शनार्थः । न्या० on P. VIII. i. 43)

(iv) to convey intention (इतिकरणो विवक्षार्थः । का० on P. V. ii. 94) etc. also read: इतिकरणेन हशब्दमात्रस्य निघातकारणत्वमाख्यायते । असति हि तस्मिन् क्रिया हशब्दस्योपाधिर्विज्ञायेत etc. । न्या० on P. VIII. i. 60.

(v) to convey the sense of आदि (cp. इतिशब्द आद्यर्थः । का० on P. III. i. 140.).

(13) इति वर्तते—used by commentators to suggest the recurrence of a word or words from the preceding sūtra in the succeeding one. (cp. 'संबुद्धौ' इति वर्तते । का० on P. VIII. iii. 107; 'छन्दसि' इति वर्तते, 'एकेषाम्' इति च । का० on P. VIII. iii. 104; 'पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायाम्' इति वर्तते । का० on P. VIII. iv. 4.

(14) इत्येव—indeclinables used together by commentators to suggest the recurrence in the succeeding sūtra of a word or words after which they are used. (Cp. 'अकः' इत्येव; 'पूर्व' इत्येव । का० on P. VI. i. 107 & 108).

(15) उत्तरार्थम्—( sometimes उत्तरार्थः ) what is meant for the following (उत्तर) sūtra. Sometimes some word or words incorporated in a particular sūtra are not necessary in the context, hence their presence is accounted for with this word. (Cp. उत्तरार्थं तर्हि बहुव्रीहिग्रहणम् । महा० on P. I. i. 28).

(16) उपचारः—treatment, dealing (cp. द्रव्यवच्चोपचाराः प्राप्नुवन्ति । महा० I. i. 2 and उपचारः व्यवहारः । प्र० thereon).

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(17) उपयोगः—(i) learning something from a *guru*, regularly and under a religions observance (cp. उपयोगः नियमपूर्वकं विद्याग्रहणम् । का० on P. I. iv. 29 also read: यथा तेषां मन्त्राणामुपयोगे द्वादशाहमधःशय्येति नियमः भिक्षाचरणादिः । पद० thereon)

(ii) what is used for achieving one's desised object e. g. milk etc. (उपयुज्यते इति उपयोगः पयः प्रभृति । का० on P. I. iv. 51 and उपयुज्यते इष्टार्थसिद्धौ व्यापार्यते इत्यर्थः । न्या० thereon).

(18) उपयोगनिमित्तम्—means for accomplishing the desired object e. g. a cow is the उपयोगनिमित्त for getting milk. Thus उपयोग like milk being the most desired by the agent is the direct object while the उपयोगनिमित्त (cow) becomes the indirect object ( of course when another sūtra does not prescribe some other *Kāraka*). (Cp. उपयोगः पयःप्रभृति, तस्य निमित्तं गवादि । का० on P. I. iv. 51).

(19) ओम्—(indeclinable) yes, alright; showing implicit acceptance (cp. ओमित्युक्त्वा वृत्तान्तशः शमित्येवमादीन् शब्दान् पठन्ति । महा० I. i. 1 and न ओंकारमुच्चार्य इत्यवगन्तव्यम् । किं तर्हि ? ओमित्यभ्युपगच्छन्ति अनपेक्षितप्रयोजना एवेत्यर्थः । भर्तृ०(हरि) P. 18).

(20) कारः—(i) a tax levied by the king (cp. राजग्राह्यो भागः करः स एव कारः । बाल० (मनोरमा) on P. VI. iii. 10; a tax to be paid to the king by merchants, farmers and cattle-breeders for the protection they get from him (वणिग्भिः, कर्षकैः, पशुपालैश्च राज्ञे देयो भागो रक्षानिबन्धनः कारः । न्या० thereon).

(ii) used as a suffix ( derived thus: करोति इति कारः ) for deriving abstract nouns (cp. कारे सत्यागदस्य । P. VII. iii. 70 & सत्यंकारः, अगदंकारः, का० on it).

(21) कात्स्न्यं—totality, entirety; when a thing undergoes a change in its entirety the change is called कात्स्न्यंविकार, which has to he distinguished from अभिविधिविकार wherein an object is changed partially (cp. यत्रैकदेशेनापि सर्वा प्रकृतिर्विकारमापद्यते सोऽभिविधिः । ···कात्स्न्यं तु सर्वात्मना द्रव्यस्य विकाररूपापत्तौ भवति । का० on P. V. iv. 53.

(22) ग्रहणकशास्त्र—According to का०, न्या० and पद०, the sūtra तपरस्तत्कालस्य is ग्रहणकशास्त्र also for those letters of the अण् प्रत्याहार which are followed by त् (i.e. तपरा अणः). The अण् letters not followed by त् are governed by the previous ग्रहणकशास्त्र (viz. अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः ।) which covers 18 (or 12) varieties while this sūtra (तपरस्तत्कालस्य ।) covers only six

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varieties of vowels. (पूर्वसूत्रेण ह्यष्टादशानां ग्रहणम् । अनेन तु षण्णामिति । पद०). There is, therefore, contradiction between these two sūtras, so the earlier one does not prevail in cases like अतो भिस ऐस् । (VII. i. 9) since the latter sūtra bars it. (cp. ये तु अणः तपराः तेषु उभयप्राप्तौ परत्वाद् इदमेव ग्रहणक-शास्त्रं प्रवर्तते इत्यभिप्रायः । न्या० on P. I. i. 70). See also का० and पद० thereon.

(23) छत्रिन्याय—The popular maxim of the umbrella-bearers. If a group of men, some with umbrellas and some without them, is going along a road, one may say with respect to them, "The umbrella-bearers are going (छत्रिणो यान्ति ।)", though some men in the group do not have umbrellas. On the analogy of this the Mahabhaṣyakara refers to a group of sūtras as अज्ञापक though some of them may be ज्ञापक [cp. नैतानि सन्ति ज्ञापकानि । महा० I. i. 1 and छत्रिन्यायेन । उ०; एकसार्थवाहित्वेन छत्र्यछत्रिसमुदाये छत्रिणो यान्तीति प्रयोगवद् बहुवचनमिति भावः । छाया fn. 5 (P. 157)].

(24) तन्त्र—(i) a scientific work hence grammar (cp. तन्त्रान्तरे चत्वारोऽपरे पठयन्ते । का० on VII. ii. 10, and तन्त्रान्तर इति आपिशले व्याकरणे । न्या० on it)

(ii) double meaning; use of a word to yield more then one meanings (cp. एकस्य शब्दस्य अनेकार्थपरत्वे तन्त्रव्यवहारः । भैरवी on शब्दरत्न on प्रौढमनोरमा P. I. iii. 3, also तन्त्रेण अर्थद्वयं विवक्षितम् । श०(ब्द) कौ०(स्तुभः) on प्रणय्योऽसम्मतौ । P. III. i. 128 also cp. पद० thereon)

(iii) that which is common to many and which although one, proves useful to many at the same time e. g. a well-lit lamp. Though one it enables several pupils to read at the same time (cp. यदेकमावृत्तिभेदमन्तरेणाप्यनेकेषामुपकारं करोति तत् तन्त्रम् । यथा प्रदीपः सुप्रज्वलितो बहूनां छात्राणामुपकारं करोति । न्या० on का० P. I. iii. 3; also read : साधारणं भवेत्तन्त्रम् यथा तुल्यकक्ष्ययोर्भुञ्जानयोः प्रदीपः । पद० on it)

(iv) special effort (प्रयत्नविशेषः) on the part of the sūtrakara is तन्त्र (इह तु प्रयत्नविशेषस्तन्त्रशब्देन विवक्षितः । यथा श्वेतो धावतीत्येकेन प्रयत्नेन द्वे वाक्ये उच्चारिते भवतः तथेहाप्येकेनैव प्रयत्नेन द्वौ हल्शब्दावुच्चारितावित्यभिप्रायः । न्या० on हल्ग्रहणंतन्त्रेणोपात्तं द्रष्टव्यम् । का० P. I. iii. 3.)

तन्त्रावृत्ति is often resorted to by commentators for interpreting some sūtras like : हलन्त्यम्, तपरस्तत्कालस्य, इग्यणः यम्प्रसारणम् etc.

(25) त्रिपुरुषानूकम्—(name) which is given to a person beyond anyone of the three ancestors (i. e. the father, grand-father and great-grand-

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father) of the new-born child's father, who is entitled to give a name to the child [cp. त्रिपुरुषानूकमनरिप्रतिष्ठितम् । महा० I. i. 1. and नामकरणे योऽधिकारी पिता तस्य ये त्रयः पुरुषाः (i. e. पितृपितामहप्रपितामहाः । छाया P. 45)ताननूकायत्यभिधत्त इति । प्र० on it ].

(26) त्व—termination denoting transformation or change e. g. जश्त्व, चर्त्व, हित्व, आत्व etc. It is used to denote the sense also conveyed by the word भाव, so जश्त्व is जश्भाव and so on.

(27) दीर्घसत्रवत् (or दीर्घसत्रन्याय)—Sacrifices lasting for a very long period (=a hundred years or one thousand years) are not performed now., yet the Yājñikas treat of them in Śāstras dealing with Vedic sacrifices since the study of Veda is a *nityakarma*. On the analogy of these long-term sacrifices words too should be explained by the Vyākaraṇa Śāstra although they are not in usage (अप्रयुक्त) [cp. अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्रवत् । (वा०) महा० I. i. 1 and उ० प्र० on it. ] (उद्योत interprets वर्ष in this passage thus: वर्षशब्दः दिवसपरः).

(28) पदशेषः—a treatise on Sanskrit grammar [see(29) below].

(29) पदशेषकार—the author of पदशेष (see above) quoted by Kāśikā on गमेरिट् परस्मैपदेषु । P. VII. ii. 58. According to him the locative in परस्मैपदेषु in this sūtra is विषयसप्तमी and so the augment इट् is available without resorting to the splitting up of the sūtra (योगविभाग) cp. का० न्या० पद० on P. VIII. ii. 58.

(30) पुराणम्—ancient grammatical treatise (cp. पुराणं व्याकरणं चिरन्तनत्वात् । न्या० and पुराणं चिरन्तनं व्याकरणम् । पद० on का० on P. VII. ii. 10).

(31) प्रकृतिः—(i) nature; innate: nature; (ii) cause, original form (cp. प्रकृतिरिति स्वभावः कारणं वाऽभिधीयते । का० on P. VI. i. 115 and प्रकृतिशब्दो हि लोके स्वभावे प्रयुज्यते यथा दुस्त्यजा प्रकृतिरिति । कारणेऽपि यथा दध्नः क्षीरं प्रकृतिः । न्या० thereon). In this sūtra प्रकृति is taken in both the meanings.

(32) प्रणवः—(i) the sacred syllable ओ३म् ।

(ii) substitution of a त्रिमात्र (ओकार or) ओंकार in place of the final vowel and the following consonants, if any, of a पाद or अर्धर्च during sacrificial ceremony only (यज्ञकर्मणि) e. g. अपां रेतांसि जिन्वतो३म् । (ऋ० VIII. 44. 16.) wherein ओम् is substituted for the ending ति (पद०). (According to न्या० ओम् is substituted for अन् here). The पद० notes that this ओंकारविधि is prescribed in case of certain mantras like सामिधेन्यः .

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(33) प्रत्यय:—What is enjoined or prescribed (by a rule of the Vyakaraṇa Śastra (cp. प्रतीयते विधीयते इति प्रत्ययः। सि०(द्धान्त) कौ०(मुदी) on अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः।). So प्रत्यय (i.e. termination), *āgama*, *ādeśa* etc. are pratyayas, since they are prescribed by the rules of grammar. (Cp. अप्रत्यय इति किम्? विधीयमानानां प्रत्ययागमादेशानां सवर्णग्राहकत्वं मा भूत्। श० कौ० on P. I. i. 69).

(34) प्रासादवासिन्याय:—The maxim of the mansion-dwellers. People who live on the upper storey of a mansion are called प्रासादवासिनः, those who live on the ground floor are called भूमिवासिनः, but some people occupy both the floors—the upper as well as the ground floor—of a mansion and they may therefore be called प्रासादवासिनः or भूमिवासिनः. On the analogy of this maxim of the mansion-dwellers, one may argue, that the *anunāsika* letter may be either called *mukha-vacana* or *nāsikā-vacana* (cp. महा० on P. I. i. 8). Bhaṭṭoji however notes that this *nyāya* is not applicable here (see श० कौ० on P. I. i. 8).

(35) मुखसुखार्थ:—for the facility of pronunciation (cp. अथ मुखसुखार्थः तकारः। महा० I. i. 2 on ऋलृक्). उ० notes a variant सुखसुखार्थः but the meaning is the same (see उ० on it).

(36) यर्वाणस्तर्वाण:—Ancient rishis and omniscient Vedic seers referred to in the Mahābhāṣya (I. i. 1); so nicknamed because of their inability to correctly pronounce the words : *yad vā naḥ, tad vā naḥ*. But in ritualistic recitation of *mantras* they never committed any error.

(37) वचन—m. n. (i) expression, suggestion (उक्तौ, द्योतने इत्यर्थः। न्या० पद० on P. V. iii. 69);

(ii) a letter [उच्चार्यते इति (वचनः)। का० on P. I. i. 8 and वचनशब्दोऽयं 'कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम्' इति बहुलवचनात् कर्मसाधनः-उच्यते इति वचनः। वर्णे वर्तते। न्या० thereon].

(38) विचाल:—lit. transformation (रूपान्तरापत्तिर्विचालः। उ० P. 59, N. S. Ed.), alteration (विचलनं विचालः। अन्यथाकरणम्। पद० on P. V. iii. 43); hence changing the number (संख्या) i. e. changing one into many (e. g. एकं राशिं पंचधा कुरु। पञ्चराशीन् कुरु इत्यर्थः) or many into one (अनेकमेकधा कुरु). See का० & पद० on the sūtra : अधिकरणविचाले च।

(39) विस्पष्टार्थ:—र्थम्—for the sake of clarity. Often when a word in a sūtra is apparently redundant, its inclusion in that sūtra is accounted for

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as being विस्पष्टार्थ: (शब्द:) or विस्पष्टार्थम् (वचनम्) [cp. अन्तरेणापि इकारमन्तस्यैव भवत:। एवं तर्हि विस्पष्टार्थम्। न्या० and...इत्येवान्तस्य सिद्धेर्ईकारो विस्पष्टार्थ:। पद० on P. VI. iv. 77]. Such a clarification is meant for those who may not, otherwise, be able to properly interpret the sūtra. (Read : य एवं प्रतिपत्तुं न शक्त: तं प्रति विस्पष्टार्थं जागृग्रहणं क्रियते। न्या० on का० on P. VII. ii. 5; also read एतदुक्तं भवति—'मन्दबुद्धिर्य एवं प्रतिपत्तुमसमर्थस्तं प्रति विस्पष्टीकरणार्थ-मसमासेऽपीत्युच्यते। न्या० on P. VIII. iv. 14).

(40) संख्या—Number. That by which distinct things are counted, e. g. एक, द्वि etc. (cp. भेदनं संख्या। का० and भिद्यन्ते इति भेदा: भिन्ना: पदार्था:। ते गण्यन्ते संख्यायन्ते परिच्छिद्यन्ते येन तद् भेदगणनम्। न्या० on P. V. i. 19). It is not included in the three other types of measurements like उन्मान, परिमाण and आयाम (Cp. ऊर्ध्वमानं किलोन्मानं, परिमाणं तु सर्वत:। आयामस्तु प्रमाणं स्यात्, संख्या बाह्या तु सर्वत:। का० on P. V. i. 19). It is of two types : लौकिकी (worldly) e. g. पञ्च etc. and पारिभाषिकी (technical) e. g. बहु etc. (cp. न्यास thereon).

(41) सत्त्वम्—That entity for which the demonstrative pronoun 'this (इदम्)' or 'that (तद्)' can be used and which is a substantive i. e. to say which can be the substratum of qualities (cp. इदं तदिति सर्वनाम परामर्शयोग्यं वस्तु द्रव्यमुच्यते। न्या०, पद० on 'सत्त्वम्' इति द्रव्यमुच्यते। का० on P. I. i. 57).

(42) संनिधान—Proximity, nearness, hence presence (of a word in a sūtra (cp. इक् संनिधानादिक इति विज्ञायते। का० on इग्न्ताच्च लघुपूर्वात्। (P. V. i. 131).

(43) सम्बन्धानुवृत्ति:—When some words in a sūtra are so connected that they cannot recur singly in the following sūtra, the recurrence of such counected words in the following sūtra is called *sambandhānuvṛttti*.

(44) सिद्धाप्रयोग—The use (of a word) which ls redundant. The use of a word in a sentence is redundant (सिद्धाप्रयोग) if such a use does not serve any purpose and is, therefore, meaningless, e. g. in अन्यथा कारं भुंक्ते, the word कारं is here सिद्धाप्रयोग as the sentence conveys the same meaning as अन्यथा भुंक्ते, i. e. to say without the use of कारम् (cf. अन्यथा भुंक्ते इति यावानर्थस्तावानेव अन्यथाकारं भुंक्ते इति गम्यते। का० on P. III. iv. 27 also see न्या० thereon).

(45) स्पष्टार्थम्—For clarification (same as विस्पष्टार्थम्) (cp. शेषग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम्। उपदेशग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम्। न्या० on P. VIII. iv. 18).

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J. M. SHUKLA, Ahmedabad:

# THE VERBAL COGNITION ACCORDING TO VĀCASPATI MIŚRA

Vācaspati Miśra (Vā.), one of the most brilliant philosophers of brahmanic India lived around 841 or 976 A. D. "His knowledge, is overwhelming, his information, always first hand, his exposition even of the most difficult and abstruse theories, very lucid, his impartiality, exemplary"[1]. Before the discovery of the original works on Buddhist logic, we were dependent on him for the exposition of Buddhist theories. Diṁnāga (420 A. D.) and Dharmakīrti (600 A. D.) are always on the tip of his pen. He expressed himself in a forceful language full of mature phrases. He is credited with eight works *viz.* the *Nyāyakaṇikā*, a commentary on the *Vidhiviveka* of Maṇḍanamiśra (620 A. D.); the *Brahmatattvasamīkṣā*, now lost, a commentary on Maṇḍana's *Brahmasiddhi*; the *Tattvabindu*, an independent work exhaustively dealing with semantic theories; the *Tātparya-ṭīkā*, a commentary on the *Nyāyavārttika* of Uddyotakara (500 A. D.); the *Tattvakaumudī*, a commentary on the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa (200 A. D.); the *Tattvavaiśāradī* on the *Yogabhāṣya* of Vyāsa (450 A. D.) and the *Bhāmatī* on the *Sāṅkarabrahmasūtrabhāṣya*.[2] *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* is merely a table of contents to the *Nyāyasūtras*.

We find Vā. discussing either in a summary manner or in great details, the theory of the verbal cognition and the immediate cause for it. Vā. discusses two views, *viz.* one view accepted by the Mimāṁsakas, about phonemes bringing about the verbal cognition, and the other view pro-

1. *Buddhist Logic*, I. 50.

2 यन्न्यायकणिका-तत्त्वसमीक्षा-तत्त्वबिन्दुभिः ।
यन्न्यायसांख्ययोगानां वेदान्तानां निदर्शनः ॥
—one of the concluding verses at the end of *Bhāmatī*.

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pounded by the grammarians about a unitary element called *sphoṭa* as responsible for the verbal cognition.

In *Nyāyakaṇikā*, on Maṇḍana's *Vidhiviveka*[3], Vā. refers to *sphoṭa* as an entity different from the letters or phonemes constituting a word. The view of the grammarians is understood as the point of view of the objector. According to them *sphoṭa*, an entity different from the phonemes, is responsible for the flash of the inner faculty (*pratibhā*) which brings about cognition.

To clear the misunderstanding generated by the theory of the marians Maṇḍana quotes two phrases from *Śābarabhāṣya*, *viz.* on account of difference not being observed ( *bhedadarśanābhāvāt* ) and the observance of non-difference ( *abhedadarśanāt*). Va. explains these by saying that the apprehension of the meaning is possible only when the phonemes are there and it is not brought about when they are absent. Hence there is no entity like a word in the form of *sphoṭa*, apart from phonemes which ultimately bring about verbal cognition[5].

In his *Tātparyaṭīkā* (*TPT*) on the *Nyāyavārttika* of Uddyotakara on the *Bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana (200 A. D.) on the *Nyāyasūtra* of Gautama (100 B. C., on *sūtra* 2.2.57) Va. discusses the problem of the verbal cognition and its cause.

Va. first presents the view of the objector *viz.* the grammarian who is the propounder of *sphoṭa*. According to the objecter letters or phonemes cannot bring about either singly or collectively, the cognition of the meaning of words[6]. A single letter is incapable of giving rise to meaning because the utterance of the other letters would be redundant. Nor can letters, when taken together, bring about meaning because when there is speaker, there is always the order of the letters, in which case a group will not be possible.

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3. Reprint from Pandit. p. 285.
4. Ānandāśrama edition, p. 48.
5. त एव वर्णाः क्रमभेदवदनुभवाहितसंस्कारभेदा भासन्ते ते च स्फोटधीभेदमाधास्यन्ति ।
 —*Nyāyakaṇikā*, p. 285.
6. Cf. Similar discussions in almost the same words in *Tattvabindu*, p. 5. and *Tattvavaiśāradī* p. 121, on *Yogabhāṣya* on *Yogasūtra*, III. 37 (Banares edition).

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Nor can it be accepted that the cognition of the last letter alongwith the impressions of the experience of the earlier letters, be the reason for the verbal cognition, because impression which is called *bhāvanā* which is a mental activity has no capacity except producing the recollection of the object of perception. In other words a memory impression of a phoneme can bring about the memory of the phoneme only, not of an object[7].

Well, if the utterance of the last letter were to bring about the cognition of the meaning, will it do so by depending upon the recollection of the convention which gives the meaning or will it do it independently of such a recollection ? If the former position were accepted, the utterance of the last letter, which is evanescent, will have already disappeared. In that case what utterance will then be recollected, because at the time of the last utterance, the recollection of the convention is no longer present. In the second alternative the letter uttered for the first time will be capable of bringing about verbal cognition although no convention has been obtained.

Vā. returns to the earlier argument and says that the last letter accompanied by the impression, called *bhāvanā*, cannot bring about the meaning of a word, nor is there any impression generated by the perception of the earlier letters, for, in such case, a number of alternatives would have to be made. Therefore, the understanding of the meaning which seems to be generated by the phonemes, but in fact not understood as such, impels one to have a perception of *sphoṭa* as responsible for verbal cognition.[8]

There is a universal experience of the perception of a sentence in different words. However, such an experience cannot rest in different phonemes as a single word or a sentence cannot be said to have its resort in phonemes. Therefore, the experience has its resort in a sentence or a word, which is neither a single letter or a group of letter. It rests in Word-Essence which Is called *sphoṭa*.

Vā. begins to refute the arguments of the grammarian, the propounder of the *sphoṭa*. He, as a confirmed Naiyāyika, emphatically says that, in

7. भावनापरनाम्नः संस्कारस्य स्वोत्पादकानुभवविषयस्मृतिजननादन्यत्र सामर्थ्यादर्शनात् । —*TPT*, p. 469.

8. सोऽयं वर्णेभ्योऽर्थप्रत्ययो भवन्ननुपपद्यमानस्तदतिरिक्तं स्फोटानुभवमायतते । —*TPT*, p. 470.

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words, no entity except in the form of letters, is ever perceived. The name 'word' (*padam*) is given as a secondary designation to those very letters, which although many, are perceived as a single cognition of meaning.[9] This condition should not be understood as mutual dependence (*anyonyasaṁśraya*) because without the ascertainment of a word there is no cognition of meaning and without the cognition of meaning, a word cannot be ascertained. The letters becoming objects of a single cognition, their meaning being well-grasped, and the convention, of the meaning arising therefrom becoming easy to understand, are called a "word" (*padam*).

It has been opined that the Word-Essence cannot be perceived nor can it be inferred, in either case it cannot bring about the cognition of meaning by mere existence.

That the cognition of meaning is not produced from letters cannot be accepted for, they, being perceived earlier, endowed with the order of individual experience and having attained a unified cognition, are able to generate meaning.[10]

There is no real difference among letters without an order, those with an order and those with an inverted order. Recollection is based on earlier experience and a special experience generates a special cognition. Even without an entity called *sphoṭa*, we find two different words "*na hi*" (no) and "*hīna*" (low), with different meanings from the same letters. The letters are conditioned by their order of arrangement, by their decrease or increase and with the difference in these conditions, we have different words.

Therefore, from visible letters the cognition of meaning is brought about. Hence, it is not proper to imagine an invisible entity called *sphoṭa*, by negating the difference found visible in the letters.[11]

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9. पदमिति तु व्यपदेशः तानेव वर्णान् बहूनप्येकस्मृतिसमारोहितया वा एकार्थधीहेतुतया वालम्बते भाक्तः । —*TPT*, p. 470.

10. ते हि पूर्वमनुभूताः प्रत्येकमनुभूतता क्रमोपसृष्टा एकबुद्धिसमारोहिणः शक्नुवन्त्यर्थधीयमाधातुम् । —*TPT*, p. 471.

11. तस्माद् दृष्टेभ्य एव वर्णेभ्यो दृष्टप्रकारानुपातिभ्योऽर्थे प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिरुपपद्यमाना नादृष्टं स्फोटात्मानं दृश्यमानवर्णभेदापह्नवेन कल्पयितुमर्हतीति सिद्धम् । —*TPT*, p, 471-472

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Vyāsa, in his *bhāṣya* on *Yogasūtra* III. 17, discusses the procedure of the verbal cognition from words. The letters or phonemes, cannot be said to convey meanings individually, but the phonemes following the sequence of utterances and passing into a multiplicity of word-forms constitute the essence of a word. The unity which the mental process makes known out of the many phonemes, bound together in a sequence is the "word"[12]. This unity has no parts, nor a sequence of parts. It is mental and is brought into function by means of the presented idea of the final phoneme in a group of phonemes.

It is significant that Vyāsa *emphasises* the unified nature of the mental process which ultimately conveys the import of a word; but he does not use the words such as, 'word-*sphoṭa*' (*pada-sphoṭa*) or 'sentence-*sphoṭa*' (*vākya-sphoṭa*).

Vā. in *Tattvavaiśāradī* understands Vyāsa's discussion as drifting towards the acceptance of a unified entity called *sphoṭa*, as responsible for the import of words[13]. Vā. says that in so far as it is not possible to have the presentation of the intended object from phonemes, it must be supposed that there is an experience of the word as a single entity which could give rise to the presentation of the intended object. Thus, a unity called word is in the entity which expresses meaning. It is an object of a single mental process. It requires a single and distinct effort. It has no parts. We assume parts because of certain similarities and dissimilarities. Phonemes are not its parts, but on the contrary, the word itself, because of certain similarities and dissimilarities, is generally assumed to have the form of this or that phoneme.[14]

While faithfully explaining Vyāsa's words, Vā. emphasises the unity of a word, which is a single whole, brought about by a single mental process and one which has no parts in the form of phonemes. While Vā.

12. तदेतेषामुपसंहृतध्वनिक्रमाणां य एको बुद्धिनिर्भासस्तत्पदं वाचकं वाच्यस्य संकेत्यते ।
—*Vyāsabhāṣya*, p. 123, on *Yogasūtra*, III. 17.

13. तस्माद् वर्णेभ्योऽसंभवन्नर्थप्रत्यय एकपदानुभवमेव स्वनिमित्तमुपकल्पयति ।
—*Tattvavaiśāradī*, on *Vyāsabhāṣya*, p. 122.

14. न ह्यस्य वर्णाः भागाः किं तु सादृश्योपधानभेदात्पदमेव तेन तेनाकारेणापरमार्थसत्ता प्रथते । —*Tattvavaiśāradī*, p. 124.

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clearly refers to the *sphoṭa* theory, Vyāsa expresses his sympathy to the unity of verbal cognition.

Except in *Tattvakaumudī* and the *Nyāyasūcīnibandha*, Vā. has discussed in his other works the immediate cause of the verbal cognition. Except in *Tattvavaiśārad·*, where he has faithfully explained Vyāsa's statements and has, therefore, propounded a unitary entity called *sphoṭa* in all the other four works, he has endoised the Mimānsaka position regarding phonemes being the immediate cause of the verbal cognition, thereby trying to refute the grammarian's doctrine of *sphoṭa*. This is best seen in *Tattvabindu* where he vehemently criticises the position of the grammarian and accepts the doctrine of the *abhihitānvayavāda* propounded by Kumārila. In expression as well in the general follow up of arguments against the *sphoṭa* theory, he has followed Maṇḍana, for whom he has expressed great admiration and respect.[15] While Maṇḍ na in his *Sphoṭa-siddhi* is greatly indebted to Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* for all his arguments in favour of the *sphoṭa* entity, it is surprising that Vā. quotes once only from the *Vākyapadīya*[16] and only once again has quoted fragments from *Vākyapadīya* and *Ślokavārttika*, the fragments having become mixed up in his memory.[17]

In the *Bhāmatī* on the *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* (*Śbh*) on the *Brahmasūtra* 1.3.28 Vā. takes up the discussion of *sphoṭa*.

The *sūtra* states that, "If it be said (that a contradiction will result) in respect of the word; we refute this objection on the ground that (the word) originates from the word, as is shown by perception and inference[18]." Śaṅkara makes the following observations on the natnre of a word, its meaning and their relation, word as the material cause of the world and the letters or the phonemes, and not the entity called *sphoṭa* as bringing about the cognition of meaning.

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15. *Nyāyakaṇikā*, p. 281,

16. *Tattvabindu*, p. 74; *Vākyapadīya*, I, 35, RAU's edition.

17. *Tattvavaiśāradī*, p 124.

18. शब्द इति चेन्नातःप्रभवात्प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम् । —I have followed THIBAUT'S renderings everywhere.

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Śaṅkara accepts the contention that a word, its meaning and the relation between them is eternal. Words denote a class (*ākṛti*) and not an individual (*vyakti*)[19]. From perception and inference we know that the world has originated from the word. Here perception denotes Vedic scripture and inference denotes *smṛti*, the latter depending upon the former[20]. The Vedas and the *Smṛtis* declare that the word precedes creation.

What asks Śaṅkara, is the nature of the word from which the world is said to originate ?[21] The objector who is here the grammarian replies that it is the *sphoṭa*. If letters were understood as constituting the word, the doctrine that the individual gods and so on, originating from the eternal words of the Veda, cannot be proved because letters differ according to different speakers and they perish as soon as they are produced. It cannot be said that an individual letter by itself brings about the sense nor can it be said that an aggregate of the letters denotes meaning. Similarly, continues the grammarian, we cannot admit that the last letter of the word together with the impressions produced by the perception of the preceding letters brings about the meaning, because the impressions are not objects of perception. Again one cannot say that the impressions are inferred from their effects, because the effect of impressions, viz., the remembrance of the word consists of parts with an order of utterance. Therefore, concludes the grammarian, the *sphoṭa* which is eternal and which brings about the meaning is the word from which this world consisting of actions, agents and results of action is produced.[22]

As can be easily understood, Śaṅkara follows the position of the MIm-ā msakas that the words, their meanings and their relation are eternal and that from the word *viz.*, the Veda, the world is produced. He is going to reject the entity called *sphoṭa* and therefore begins his refutaion of the *sphoṭa* by quoting Upavarṣa (100 A. D.) who has also been quoted by Śabara in his commentary on the *Mīmāmsāsūtra* (1.1.5).

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19. आकृतिभिश्च सम्बन्धो न व्यक्तिभिः । –*Śbh*. p. 123 (Bombay 1915).
20. प्रत्यक्षं श्रुतिः····अनुमानं स्मृतिः····ते हि शब्दपूर्वां सृष्टिं दर्शयतः । -*Śbh*. p. 123.
21. किमात्मकं पुनः शब्दमभिप्रेत्येदं शब्दप्रभवत्वमुच्यते । स्फोटमित्याह । -*Śbh*. p. 124.
22. तस्मान्नित्याच्छब्दात्स्फोटरूपादभिधायकात्क्रियाकारकफललक्षणं जगदभिधेयभूतं प्रभवतीति । -*Śbh*. p, 125.

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One cannot say that letters, as soon as they are uttered pass away because each time they are newly uttered, they are understood as the same letters. To the argument of the grammarian that letters are understood as different owing to differences of utterances, it can be replied that these are the differences of conjunction (*saṁyoga*) and disjunction of the breath with the places of utterance. These differences be ascribed to different articulatory agents and not to the nature of letters themselves.[23]

Therefore, the cognition of meaning being apprehended from letters, the assumption of *sphoṭa* is useless. The grammarian will say that I do not assume *sphoṭa*, I actually perceive it.[24] The letters cannot be understood as the object of cognition, but it is the *sphoṭa* which can become the object of cognition.

Śaṅkara replies that if the object of cognition were *sphoṭa* and not the letters, then the letters would be excluded from that cognition. But this is never found. Besides, different words like *pika* and *kapi*, with different meanings, from the same letters are possible on account of a specific order of letters which being about a comprehensive consciousness in both the cases.

To sum up, says Śaṅkara, the grammarian who propounded *sphoṭa* as the word, will have to disregard what is perceived and to assume something which is not perceived when they accept that the letters understood in a specific order manifest the *sphoṭa* and the *sphoṭa* conveys the meaning.[25]

Vā.'s explanation of Śaṅkara's remarks will require a detailed exposition. However, I shall do it in a summary manner and explain the statements in the *Bhāmatī* (*Bhā.*) when it has comments on the later part of Śaṅkara's discussion on the *sūtra*, where he finally refutes *sphoṭa*.

23. अभिव्यञ्जकवैचित्र्यनिमित्तोऽयं वर्णविषयो विचित्रः प्रत्ययो न स्वरूपनिमित्तः। -*Śbh.* p. 125.

24. न कल्पयाम्यहं स्फोटं प्रत्यक्षमेव त्वेनमवगच्छामि। -*Śbh*, p. 123.

25. स्फोटवादिनस्तु दृष्टहानिरदृष्टकल्पना च। वर्णाश्चेमे गृह्यमाणा स्फोटं व्यञ्जयन्ति स स्फोटोऽर्थं व्यनक्तीति गरीयसी कल्पना स्यात्। -*Śbh*. p. 127.

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By the word we may understand *sphoṭa* and not the letters, provided the letters are not expressive of meaning. The expressiveness of letters is discarded on account of their evanescent nature and on account of their having neither conjunction nor disjunction. The first alternative cannot he accepted because a letter is found to exist at the time of the next utterance. A letter is understood as loud (*udātta*), slow (*anudātta*), nasal (*anunāsika*) and so on, on account of the modes, places and articulators of utterance. A face when reflected in a jewel, a sword or a mirror appears different on account of the nature of the reflectors. Similarly, the same letter is understood as having different forms on account of the different sounds manifesting it.

To the Sphoṭavādin who says that he does not assume *sphoṭa* but perceives it, Vā. asks, friend, why not understand the word *cow* as one word ?[26] Does he understand the letters constituting the word as an aggregate or something different from them, as in the latter case a gayal (*gavaya*) is understood as different from a bore (*varāha*). If the second alternative were accepted the cognition of the word 'cow' (*go*) based on the letters will not be possible.

The comprehension of individual letters created an impression, which in its turn brings about the recollection of all the letters which is ultimately responsible for a single cognition. One should not conceive of any interdependence because different letters bring about a single cognition and a single cognition proves that different letters are capable of a single cognition. Nor can it be said that letters having an order, or without it, or having a different order are the same because they have a resort in a single recollection and they bring about a cognition of meaning, although pronounced indiscriminately, because it is well said by Kumārila (*Ślokavārttika*, *Sphoṭavāda*, 69) that those same words, which are known as having the capacity to bring about meaning, denote it in the same manner.[27] As regards two different words *jārā* and *rājā*, brought about by the different order of the same letters, we say that in such cases two distint words with different meanings are visibly clear. It has again been well said by Kumārila (*Ślokavārttika*, I. 1.7, v. 180) that order, one letter

26. निरूपयतु तावद् गौरित्येकं पदमायुष्मान् । –*Bhāmatī*, p. 327 (Bombay 1938).

27. यावन्तो यादृशा ये च यदर्थप्रतिपादने ।
वर्णाः प्रज्ञातसामर्थ्यास्ते तथैवावबोधकाः ॥

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less, one letter more, a different accent, a sentence, Vedic scripture and a *Smṛti-dictum* are, as desired by the learned, so many different ways of understanding meaning.[28]

Here we have discussed the problem briefly, says Vā. A detailed discussion should be found in (our work) the *Tattvabindu*. Or else, enough of such a discussion with the logicians. (Perhaps you may come to grief).

The best account of the nature of verbal cognition is however found in the *Tattvabindu* (*TB*);although a small work, it bristles with brilliant expression and rhythmic phrases. It is a work in prose with thirteen verses which are called *mūlaślokāḥ*, wherein five views concerning verbal cognition are summarized. Besides these verses, Vā. quotes seven verses from the *Ślokavārttika* of Kumārila (550 A. D.), a verse from Bhartṛhari's (400 A. D.) *Vākyapadīya* and a few unidentified verses. In the benedictory verse at the beginning of the work he prays Śiva, Gaṇapati, Sarasvati and Viṣṇu. He begins the discussion by stating that scholars differ regarding the efficient cause (*nimitta*) of the verbal cognition (*śābdabodha*), when people hear a group of words giving rise to a definite meaning.

The different views of the scholars and the schools are as follows: Some consider that a sentence, which in reality is without divisions, but which is understood as having parts like words and letters, on account of eternal ignorance, is the cause of the verbal cognition.[29] This is the view of the grammarians who emphasise *sphoṭa* in the form of sentence-*sphoṭa* as bringjng about verbal cognition.

The cognition of the last uttered letter associated with the impressions produced by the perception of the previous words and word-meanings, is responsible for the verbal cognition[30]. This is the Naiyāyika view.

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28. पदावधारणोपायान्बहूनिच्छन्ति सूरयः ।
क्रमन्यूनातिरिक्तत्वस्वरवाक्यश्रुतिस्मृतीः ॥ –*Bhā.* p. 330.

29- अनवयवमेव वाक्यं अनाद्यविद्योपदर्शितालीकपदविभागमस्या निमित्तमिति केचित् ।
–*TB*, p. 61. BIARDEAU's edition.

30. पूर्वपूर्वपदपदार्थानुभवजनितसंस्कारसहितमन्त्यवर्णविज्ञानमिति ।–*TB*. p. 61.

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All the letters including the last one, that is the garland of letters which are reflected in the mirror of recollection produced by the group of impressions generated by the perception of each lelter, word and word-meaning is the cause[31]. This view is ascribed to the Mīmānsakas like Upavarṣa (200 A. D.).

The uttered words express their meanings as related to the meaning of the other words, on the basis of expectancy (*ākāṅkṣā*), compatibility (*yogyatā*) and proximity (*sannidhi*)[32]. This is the view of the Mīmānsakas who follow Prabhākara (560 A. D.) whose theory is called the doctrine of related meaning (*anvitābhidhānavāda*).

Vā. states the obove four views as the views of the objectors and he therefore rejects them. He accepts the fifth view which is propounded by Kumārila and his followers. It is known as "the doctrine of coming into relation what has been expressed" (*abhihitānvayavāda*). According to this view juxtaposed words convey the meanings which then produce the verbal cognition with the help of expectancy, compatibility and proximity.

The word *sphoṭa*, in the form of word-*sphoṭa* (*pada-sphoṭa*) and sentence-*sphoṭa* (*vākya-sphoṭa*) is, according to the grammarians, responsible for verbal cognition.

Before Yāska (700 B. C.) two distinct traditions regarding words, meanings and verbal cognition were current. One tradition emphasised words and their meanings as responsible for verbal cognition. Hence, the division of words into nouns, verbs, prepositions and indeclinables could be understood. Another tradition emphasised a unitary form of sentence whereits constituents had no importance. This tradition is reflected in the words of Audumbarāyaṇa, recorded by Yāska. According to Audumbarāyaṇa, a statement or a sentence (*vacanam*) is permanent in the mind or the perceptive faculty (*indriyanityam*). Both Skandasvāmin and Durga

31. प्रत्येकवर्णपदपदार्थानुभवभावितभावनानिचयलब्धस्मृतिदर्पणारूढा वर्णमालेत्यन्ये । *TB*. p. 61.

32. पदान्येवाकाङ्क्षितयोग्यसन्निहितपदार्थान्तरान्वितस्वार्थाभिधायिनीत्यपरे ।–*TB*, p. 61.

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explain "*indriyanityam*" as "*anityam*" (impermanent). However, Bharatṛhari understands the word as "permanent in the mind or perceptive faculty". The passage of Yāska, therefore, can be analysed as follows: "According to Audumbarāyaṇa a statement (*vacana*) is permanent in the mind". "If this were accepted," says the objector, "the fourfold classification of the parts of speech does not hold good, nor the reciprocal reference of words which are uttered at different times, nor the relationship postulated by grammar."[33] Yāska answers the objector by saying: "By reason of their universal applicability and their convenience, men do employ words for naming, even in everyday life, to enable discussion to take place". Bhartṛhari paraphrases Audumbarāyaṇa's statement by saying, "having noticed the permanence of a sentence in the mind or the perceptive faculty, Audumbarāyaṇa declared that four parts of speech are not tenable. At best they are for convenience in the Science of Grammar and the worldly usage."[34]

Neither Pāṇini nor Kātyāyana nor any other older grammarian uses the word *sphoṭa*. Pāṇini's rule *avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya* (Pāṇini VI.I.123) refers to a morphological point and has nothing to do with the doctrine of *sphoṭa*.

Patañjali uses the word *sphoṭa* in the sense of the phonematic pattern or a sound generality. He has not used it in the sense of an entity signifying meaning or a meaningful segment.[35] It seems that from after Patañjali, discussions about the nature of *sphoṭa* took the form of different theories as is evident from Bhartṛhari's commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*. These theories differently interpret *sphoṭa* as a sound pattern, as a meaning bearing entity as a word-generality or the very word-essence.[36]

This later on gave rise to the conception of *sphoṭa* as a meaning-bearer entity and still later as Word-Absolute (*Śabdabrahman*), thus

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33. *Nirukta* I. 1,2; Brough, J., *BSOAS*, Vol. 14, Pt. I, pp. 73 ff.

34. वाक्यस्य बुद्धौ नित्यत्वमर्थयोगं च लौकिकम् ।
दृष्ट्वा चतुष्ट्वं नास्तीति वदत्यौदुम्बरायणः ॥
व्याप्तिमांश्च लघुश्चैव व्यवहारः पदाश्रयः ।
लोके शास्त्रे च कार्यार्थं विभागेनैव कल्पितः ॥
—*Vākyapadīya*, II. 344-345. (Rau's edition).

35. *Mahābhāṣya*, I, p. 26, 181 (Keilhorn).

36. *Mahābhāṣyadīpika*, p. 3 (Poona).

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emphasising its metaphysical aspect. Bhartṛhari himself seems to accept *sphoṭa* as a meaning-bearing word-generality. S. D. Joshi, after exhaustively discussing the nine places where the term *sphoṭa* occurs and there are no other occurrences of the word *sphoṭa* in the whole of *Vākyapadīya*, comes to the conclusion that as with Patañjali the word *sphoṭa* with Bhartṛhari, is a sound pattern and not a meaning-bearer entity.[37] However *Vākyapadīya* verse no. I.44 has *sphoṭa* in mind as the meaning-bearing entity.[38]

True to the continued grammatical traditions, Bhartṛhari and later grammarians emphasised that the verbal cognition could be abtained from the *vākya-sphoṭa* only.

Vā. begins his discussion by stating the ideal which he has always kept in mind. He says that in the absence of an obvious and significant factor which nullifies what has been postulated, one should never reject latter because when an effect is obtained from a visible cause, it is not advisable to consider something which is never observed. In the *TB*[39] what is postulated and proved is the capacity of the letters and words to bring about the verbal cognition. Vā. cannot think of anything that nullifies this capacity.

The refutation of *sphoṭa* is divided into two parts. The first part (p. 62-67) gives the arguments of the Sphoṭavādin who anticipates the objectors, i. e., the Varṇavādin's, point of view and established *sphoṭa* after rejecting them. For this part *sphoṭasiddhi* of Maṇḍanamiśra (600 A. D.) has influenced Vā. Maṇḍana in his turn has accepted the phraseology of *Vākyapadīya* throughout his work.

The Varṇavādin rejects *sphoṭa* on the basis of the difference between the denotations of words and sentences. Let us not accept an extra entity called *sphoṭa* in the form of a word or a sentence. Through the

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37. *Sphoṭanirṇaya*, introduction, p. 35.

38. द्वावुपादानशब्देषु शब्दौ शब्दविदो विदुः ।
एको निमित्तं शब्दानामपरोऽर्थे प्रयुज्यते ॥ —*Vākyapadīya*, I. 44.

39. मीयमानपरित्यागो बाधके नासति स्फुटे ।
दृष्टात्कार्योत्पत्तौ च नादृष्टपरिकल्पना ॥ —*TB*, v. 3.

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impressions left by the previous phonemes in a word or a sentence, a kind of co-existence, of cognitions, is brought about. Śabara has also accepted this. There is no need to posit *sphoṭa*, as the cognition of the last phoneme, accompanied by the cognitions of the previous phonemes will bring about the verbal cognition.

The Sphoṭavādin rejects all this. Phonemes are eternal (*nitya*) and pervasive. All phonemes as parts cannot bring about a whole because the whole is bigger than parts. The phonemes, each separately, can not produce the cognition of *sphoṭa*. To the Varṇavādin's argument that the impressions left by the previous phonemes in a word will bring about a kind of co-existence which then will produce the cognition of meaning, Śabara also says this—the Sphoṭavādin says that impressions (*saṁskāra*) is a power of the soul and hence the soul accompanied by its power will be responsibie for the verbal cognition.

Like a brilliant Naiyāyika—and Vā. is fondly remembered as Tatparyācārya—Vā. tries to shatter the arguments of the Sphoṭavādin. If *sphoṭa* were considered as the word-generality, it being common to all words, all words will express all ideas. This is against the normal experience. Congnizance of unitariness cannot prove the existence of *sphoṭa*. The footmen, cavalry, etc. become objects of a unitary usage *viz.* an army. An *aśoka* tree, a mango tree etc. become the objects of a unitary usage *viz.* a forest. But they cannot prove the existence of a separate entity other than their parts. Three or more stones when put together support a pot (*piṭhara*). Similarly the three phonemes in the word *gauḥ* become the objects of recollection to bring about the unitary cognition of *gauḥ*.

Therefore, the meaning of a sentence can be cognised through words and that of words through their phonemes. No unitary entity like an indivisible sentence is required for verbal cognition.[40]

The second and the third views on the cause of the verbal cognition are dismissed by Vā. with a couple of arguments for each.

The cognition of the last letter aided by the impressions produced by the experience of the preceding letters, words and word-meanings, cannot bring about the cognition of the sentence. In the first moment,

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40. इति स्थितं नानवयवमेकं वाक्यं वाक्यार्थस्य बोधकम् । —*TB*, p. 74.

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there is the perception of the word, then its impression is created and then its recollection takes place. At the time of the recollection, the impressions created in the earlier moments are absent and therefore the verbal cognition will not take place. Nor can the cognition of the last letter, the impression left by it and its recollection, be simultaneous because cognitions do not arise at a time.

The third view fathered upon older Mımānsakas like Upavarṣa cannot be accepted on the ground of the greater effort (*gauravāt*) and an absence of an object for cognition (*viṣayābhāvāt*). This point of view can be accepted only till it is not understood and the wise seldom accept it.

Vā. next tries to refute the theory of related meanings (*anvitābhidhāna-vāda*), of Prabhākara. According to this theory the words convey related meanings on the strength of expectancy (*ākāṅkṣā*), compatibility (*yogyatā*) and proximity (*āssatti* or *sannidhi*).[41]

Prabhākara's theory is a clever compromise between the grammarian's theory of the unitary import of propositions and the Bhāṭṭa theory of the cognition of a sentence through a group of words.

The Anvitābhidhānavādin (Anvt.) clarifies his position as follows:

1. There is no interdependenee (*anyonyāśraya*)—the fault understood by the Bhāṭṭas—in an expression like "he cooks in a pot," where the word 'pot', depends on the meaning of the word 'cooks' and the latter on the former, because the words through their expressive potency convey their meanings as well as their relations.

2. Four kinds of cognitions, viz., valid experience (*pramāṇa*), doubt (*saṁśaya*), misapprehension (*viparyaya*) and recollection (*smṛti*) are derived from words. The first three cannot be considered. Therefore, recollection (*smṛti*) is the only acceptable cognition. *Smṛti* is generated on account of mental impressions which are based on previous experiences.

41. पदान्याकाङ्क्षितासन्नयोग्यार्थान्तर-संगतान् ।
स्वार्थानभिदधन्तीह वाक्यवाक्यार्थ गोचरन् ॥ —*TB*, p. 77.

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3. The argument that the word meanings generated by expectancy etc. will bring about the mental cognition and hence the mental relation of words is no longer expected, cannot be accepted because unless the meanings are cognised by words they could not be accepted as the cause of verbal cognition.

4. Expectancy (*ākāṅkṣā*) which is so much emphasized by the Abhihitānvayavādin (Abhi.) which is she knower's desire for knowledge, is explained on the basis of the incompleteness of expression. It requires, e. g., for the word 'door' (*dvāram*), a related word like 'close' (*pidhehi*).

5. The Abhi. says that the operations of the words are over by the mere recollection of the unreiated meanings. Their meanings generated by expectancy etc. will bring about verbal cognition and hence the mutual relation of the words is no longer expected. This cannot be accepted because unless the meanings are acquired by words, they could not be understood as the cause of the verbal cognition.

6. The Abhi. has to accept two potencies one for the words to express meaning of a sentence. For the Anvt. only one potency for words will have to be accepted, which on the basis of expectancy etc. conveys the meaning of a word as related to the meaning of other words. Therefore, it is proper to say that the meanings of words are the cause of the cognition of sentences.

Vā. begins the refutation of the Anvt. theory by quoting a verse. On account of being uttered together, words acquire the capacity to convey the relation beween their meanings. Such a co-utterance went on producing the word-meanings so far unknown, and which cannot be explained otherwise, convey by secondary significance (*lakṣaṇā*) the relation between one meaning and another.

Vedic words as well as words in popular usage produce meainng by a secondary significative potency because words when not forming part of a sentence have no use. The comprehension of the meaning of a sentence requires that the functioning of the words should be accompanied

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by their de notation. As burning is necessary for fuel, words are necessary obtaining the meaning of a sentence.[42]

Vā. says that mere expressive potency (*abhidhā*) cannot bring about the import of words or sentences; therefore, one should adopt *lakaṣaṇā* to convey the state of relation (*anvitāvasthā*).

Vā. says that someone may say that words do not generate mental impressions, as they are not included in the list of the causes of recollection (*smṛti-hetavaḥ*) (*Nyāyasūtra*, 3.2.41). But "*pada*" is not included in the list but relation (*sambandha*) is included. But says, Vā. : "What after all is relation ?" It has always been wit reference to words and their meanings, a relation which is eternal and which is known as the relait on between the exprssorn and the expressed (*vācakavācyabhāva*), a relation betweenthe meanings of words. In other words, it is the relation between the cogniser and the cognised or between the recollector and the rceollected.

There is a last objection but, of course, it is not decisive. What is the relation between a teacher and pupil. Is it the relation between the recollected and the recollector ? Vā. answers that you will not be able to find a separate relation if we accept *Anvitābhidhāna*.[43] He repeats that the relation between words and meanings is that between recollected and the recollector, because words have a power to generate recollection of meanings. This relation is cognition of words which is also the primary significance (*abhidha*). Hence the *Anvitādhāna* cannot be accepted.[44]

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42. साक्षाद्यद्यपि कुर्वन्ति पदार्थप्रतिपादनम् ।
बर्णास्तथापि नैतस्मिन्पर्यवस्यन्ति निष्फले ॥
वाक्यार्थमितये तेषां प्रवृत्तौ नान्तरीयकम् ।
पाके ज्वालेव काष्ठानां पदार्थप्रतिपादनम् ॥ —*TB*, p. 87.

43. तस्मादभिधातृत्वमपि नान्विताभिधाने इति कल्पनालाघवादाकाङ्क्षादिलक्षणसहकारिप्रत्यासन्नैश्च समभिव्याहृतपदस्मारितैः पदार्थैः प्रत्यासत्त्या गम्यमानो वाक्यार्थो लाक्षणिकः शाब्दश्चेति रमणीयम् । —*TB*, p 91.

44. पदानि स्वं स्वम् अर्थम् अभिधाय निवृत्तव्यापाराणि अथेदानीं पदार्थाः अवगताः सन्तो वाक्यार्थमवगमयन्ति । —*TB*, p. 91.

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Thus, the meaning of a sentence is denoted by words by *lakṣaṇā*, when meanings are recollected by co-uttered words and accompanied by expectancy, compatibility and proximity. This has been well-said in the *Śābarabhāṣya* (on *Jaiminisūtra* I. 1.25).

As can be understood from the above remarks Vā. discusses the import of words and sentences freely and independently in the *Tattvabindu*. He defends Kumārila's theory of *Abhihitānvayavāda* against the theoreis of the grammarians, the Naiyāyikas, the older Mīmānsakas like Upavarṣa and Prabhākara. In this work his genius has flowered in many different directions. In the other works he has to be faithful to the statements of his predecessors whom he explains. He is vehement in his criticism of *sphoṭa* in the *Tātparyaṭīkā* and the *Bhāmatī* when the astute Naiyāyika in him has blazed forth.

However, Vā. has not shown that freedom of semantic investigation as is done by Maṇḍana, who although a confirmed Advaitin and the one closer to the Bhāṭṭa tradition, has in his *Sphoṭasiddhi*, bravely defended *sphoṭa* raised it, in his *Advaitabrahmasiddhi*, to the plane of the Word-Absolute, responsible for the creation of the universe.

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Madhusudan MALLIK, Santiniketan:

# ELISION IN PĀLI

Elison is an important factor in the formation of Pāli words. In Sanskrit and other Indo-European languages elision has its own role. Pāṇini has formulated several rules for elision. In his *Aṣṭadhyāyī* he has devoted more than 200 *sūtras* towards the elucidation of elision.

Elision is of two kinds-vocalic and consonantal. The vocalic elision takes place initially (*cf.* aphesis), medially (*cf.* syncope) and finally (*cf.* apocope). Similar developments of elision is found to occur in the domain of consonants.

In this paper I have tried to collect examples of elision bothv ocalic and consonantal from Pāli literature. I have left out of consideration all cases of elisions due to *Sandhi*-formation. Initial cases of vocal elision have been treated by me elsewhere. I will only take into account a few vocalic and some consonantal elisions.

**Elision of Initial Sounds:**

*gini* (*Sn.* 18), fire, Skt. *agni*, *cf.* *aggi* (*M.* i. 487).

*daka* (*Vin.* iii. 112), water, Skt. *udaka.*

*dāni* (*Miln.* 11), now, Skt. *idāni*.

**Elision of a Penultimate Vowel:**

*ājañña* (*Sn.* 300), a good race or breed of a horse, *cf.* Skt. *ājāneya.*

*uposothagga* (*Vin.* iii. 66), the hall or chapel in the monastery, *agga* Skt. *agāra*, Skt. *upavasathāgāra.*

*dānagga* (*DhA.* i. 152), a house where alms are given, Skt. *dānagāra* .

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*bhattagga* (*Vin*.i. 44), a refectory, *cf*. Skt. *bhaktāgāra* (*Divy*. 335).
*vassagga* (*DhA*. iii. 105), shelter from the rain, a shed, *agga=agāra*.
*salākagga* (*Mhvs*. 15. 208), room for distributing food by tickets.

**Elision of a Vowel (medial):**

*satipaṭṭhāna* (*D*.ii. 83), application of mindfulness, Skt. *smṛtyupasthāna*, *sati* +*upatthāna*.

**Ellsion of a Consonant (medial):**

i. g — Kusinārā, 'a proper name', Kusinagara.

ii. ḍ — *bhāṇaka* (*Vin*. ii 170), a small jar, *cf*. Skt. *bhāṇḍakam*, *cf*. also *bhaṇḍakam* (*J*. vi. 6).

iii. t — *aḍḍhatiya* (*J*. ii. 129), the third (unit) less half, i. e., two and a half, *cf*. *aḍḍhateyya* (*Vin*. i. 39), *cf*. *Asoka aḍhātiyāni*, **aḍḍhatatiya*.

iv. d — *bhante* (*D*. ii. 154), Reverend Sir, Skt. *bhadante*.

v. y — *mora* (*DhA*. 394), Skt. *mayūra*, a peacock;
*morinī* (*Miln*. 67), a *peahen*;
*katipaham* (*J*. i. 152), a few days, Skt. *katipaya*+ *aham*.

vi. r — *āsabho* (*J*. vi. 453), a bull, Skt. *ārṣabha*;
*cuddasa* (*J*. i. 71), fourteen, Skt. *caturdaśa*;
*domanassa* (*D*. ii. 306), distress, grief, Skt. *daurmanasya*;
*phāsukam* (*J*. iii. 343), pleasant, Skt. **sparśasukha*;
*sotam* (*Vin*. i. 9), the organ of hearing, Skt. *śrotram*.

vii. l — *kho* (*M*. i. 420), indeed, Skt. *khalu*.

viii. v — *vidū* (*Th*. i. 497), Skt. *vividuḥ*.
*thera* (*A* ii. 23), old, Skt. *sthavira*;
*therikā* (*Dpvs*. vii. 11), a female *thera*, Skt. *sthavirikā* (*M*. *Vastu*, iii. 81);
*yāgu* (*Vin*. i. 46), rice-gruel, Skt. *yavāgu*.

**Elision of a Consonant (final):**

*akāsi* (*Sn*. 343), Skt. *akārṣīt*.
*abravi* (*Th*. i. 1275), Skt. *abravīt*.
*avidvā* (*M*. i. 311), Skt. *avidvān*, unknowing.
*dajjā* (*Pv*. ii. 9), Skt. *dadyāt*.

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*bhayadassavā* (*Dh.* 31), Skt. *bhayadarśivān* 'seeing fear'.

*vidvā* (*Sn.* 792), Skt. *vidvān*, wise.

**Elision of 'ya' (final):**

*anupādā* (D. i. 17), not taking up any more (fuel), *cf. anupādāya* (*A.* i. 162).

*anuyāti* (*J.* V. 49), to follow, Skt. *anuyāyati.*

*appaṭisankhā* (*S.* ii. 120), inconsiderably.

*abhiññā* (*It.* 97), knowing, *cf. abhiññāya* (*S.* iv. 16).

*ādā* (*Vin.* iv. 120), taking up, *cf. ādāya* (*Sn. A.* 139).

*upanidhā* (*Nd.* ii. 158), companion, cf. *upanidhāya* (*M.* i. 374).

*upādā* (*Dhs.* 877), lit. taking up, i. e. subsisting on something else, *cf. upādāya* (*Pv. A.* 61).

*patisankhā* (*M.* i. 273) carefully, *cf. patisankhāya* (*Sdlp.* 391).

*yāpya* (*Vism.* 33), Skt. *yāpanīya.*

*lābhā* (*Miln.* 17), Dat. Sg. for *lābhāya.*

*saddhā* (*A.* i. 24), Skt. *sraddhāya.*

**Elision and Compensation:**

*āsabha* (*Sn.* 687), Skt. *ārṣabha*, a bull.

*upanisa* (*Dh.* 75), likeness, Skt. *upaniṣad.*

*ūmi* (*Sn.* 920), wave, Skt. *ūrmi.*

*Kātum* (*Pv A.* 461), *kartum*, √*kṛ*.

*kātūna* (*J.* iv. 283), **kartvāna*, *cf.* also *kattūna*,

*kāhāmi* (*Th.* i. 108), *kāhasi* (*Dh.* 154), *kāhati* (*J.* ii. 443) etc. **karṣyāmi*, *kassāmi*, *kāsāmi*, **karṣyasi* etc.

*dīgho* (*D.* i. 17), long, Skt. *dīrgha.*

*paṭimāse* (*Dh.* 379), Skt. *pratimarṣeh*, Imp. watch.

*bāhati* (*S.* i. 145), to keep away, Skt. *barhayati.*

*sāsapa* (*S.* ii. 137), a mustard seed, Skt. *sarṣapa.*

*sīgho* (*Dh.* 29), quick, Skt. *sīghraḥ.*

The edition of the texts referred to are those of the Pali Text Society, London. The Roman and the Arabic figures indicate the volume and the page number.

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## Abbreviations

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *A* | ......... | *Aṅguttara-Nikāya.* |
| *D* | ......... | *Dīgha-Nikāya.* |
| *Dh* | ......... | *Dhammapada.* |
| *DhA* | ......... | *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā.* |
| *Dhs* | ......... | *Dhamma-Sangani.* |
| *Dpvs* | ......... | *Dīpavaṁsa.* |
| *It* | ......... | *Itivuttaka.* |
| *J* | ......... | *Jātaka.* |
| *M* | ......... | *Majjhima-Nikāya.* |
| *Mhvs* | ......... | *Mahāvaṁsa.* |
| *Miln* | ......... | *Milinda Pañha.* |
| *Pv* | ......... | *Petavatthu.* |
| *PVA* | ......... | *Petavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā.* |
| *S* | ......... | *Saṃyutta-Nikāya.* |
| *Sn* | ......... | *Sutta-Nipāta.* |
| *Th.* i | ......... | *Thera-Gāthā.* |
| *Th.* ii | ......... | *Theri-Gāthā.* |
| *Vin* | ......... | *Vinaya Piṭaka.* |

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Biswanath BHATTACHARYA, Santiniketan:

# CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE MORPHOLOGICAL NOTES IN THE PRINTED TEXT OF BṚHASPATI-MIŚRA'S *PADACANDRIKĀ* ON AMARSIṀHA'S *NĀMA-LIṄGĀNUŚĀSANA*, 1. 1. 2ᵃ.

In the context of the formation of the declensional stems *div-okas-* and *div-aukas-*, the printed text of the Rāya-mukuṭa-maṇi Bṛhaspati-Miśra's *Padacandrikā* on Amarasiṁha's *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, 1 [=*kāṇḍa*]. 1 [=*svarga-varga*]. 2ᵃ [=*śloka*][1] gives the following grammatical notes :—

(1) *divi oko nivāsa eṣāṁ div-okasaḥ* /

(2) *diva-śabdo 'd-anto 'py asti / tena div=aukasa iti* /

(3) *tathā ca tri-kāṇḍa-śeṣaḥ——mandaraḥ sairibhaḥ Śakra-bhavanam bhavanaṁ khaṁ divaṁ nabha* [//] *iti* /

(4) *tathā ca* [*Aśvaghoṣasya*] *Buddha-carite——*
*na śobhate tena hi no vinā puraṁ*
*Marutvatā Vṛtra-vadhe yathā divam* [//] (8.13) *iti* /

(5) *hal-antasyaiva pṛṣodarā- "ditvāt* (Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 6.3.109) *uttvā-'bhāve* (*utvābhāve---sic.*) *div-okasaḥ iti Hemacandraḥ* [v. l. *Cāndrāḥ*] /

(6) *diva ud* (Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 6.1.131) *ity atra tu*[2] *śaada-para-vipratiṣedhād ukārasya yaṇ-ādeśe div-okasa iti tu Maitreyaḥ* /

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1. The *Padacandrikā* of Rāyamukuṭa on the *Amarakoṣa*, ed. K. K. DUTTA, Vol. One, Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, No. 48, Lexicon No. 2, Calcutta, 1966, p. 14.
2. This *nipāta* should be omitted from the sentence as redundant because another *tu* occurs towards the end of the same sentence.

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(7) *acaḥ parasmin* (Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 1.1.57) *iti sthānivattvenā 'pi nekārasya yaṇ-ādeśaḥ sakṛt-kṛta-paribhāṣayā nirāsād iti* |

(8) *Govardhanas tv āha---hal-antasyottvā-'bhāvaḥ* (*ahal-antasyotvā-'bhāvaḥ*----*sic.* ?)----*Saṁjñā-viṣayatvād iti* |

(9) *syād div-okā div=aukāś ca deve vāpīha-pakṣiṇi* (*vāpīha pakṣiṇi*----*sic* ?) *iti Rantidevaḥ* |

(10) *ke 'pi ubhayam iti* |

(11) *kanin yu-vṛṣi*=[*Un-ādi-prakarṇa*, 1.154 (1.156----*sic.* ?)] *ty atra bahula vacanāt kevalād api divaḥ kanini, vṛddhau div=aukasa iti tu diva ud* [Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 6.1.131][3] *ity atra Bhāga-vṛttiḥ* ||

As the wording of the afore-cited passage of the printed text of the *Pada-candrikā* is questionable in several places[4] we propose to divide the entire passage conveniently into eleven discussable sections, and analyse and examine the content in each case as follows :—

(1) Firstly, Bṛhaspati appears to expound the compound stem *div-okas* a case of *vyadhikarṇa-pada-bahuvrīhi*.

We would rather treat the stem simply as an instance of *samānādhikaraṇa-pada-bahuvrīhi*.[5] This is the view of Bhānuji Dīkṣita.[6]

Anyway, the stem of the *pūrva-pada* is *vakārānta strī-liṅga div-*.

Sāyaṇa also is in favour of *samānādhikaraṇa-pada-bahuvrīhi* even

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3. *div ud* (Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 7.1.84) ——sic. ?
4. The reasonable readings offered by us have already been shown in their relevant places in the afore-cited passage.
5. *dyaur oko yeṣāṁ te div-okasaḥ* |
6. *dyaur oko yeṣāṁ iti vigrahe div-okasaḥ api* | [*Rāmāśramī* (or *Vyākhyā-sudhā*) on Amarasiṁha's *Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana* ed. S. SARMA, N(irnaya-) S(agara) P(ress), Bombay, 1944, 1.1.7[d], p. 5[b]].

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when he expounds the compound stem *div=aukas-*[7].

(2) Secondly, Bṛhaspati accepts *ad-anta klība-linga diva-* as the stem of the *purva-pada* and expounds the componnd stem *div-aukas-*[8] presumably as a case of *vyadhikaraṇa-pada bahuvrīhi.*

Hemacandra[9], Śaraṇadeva[10], Saravānanda[11], Mallinātha[12], Bhānuji Dīkṣit[13], Raghunātha Cakravartin[14] and Puruṣottama[15] also accept the existence of the stem *diva-*.

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7. *dyaur oko yeṣāṁ te div=aukasaḥ* / [*Mādhavīyā Dhātu-vṛtti*,ed. Swami Dwarikadas SHASTRI, Prācya-Bhāratı Series, No. 1, Prācya-Bhāratı-Prakāśana, Varanasi, First Edition, 1964, p. 402].

8. The Tibetan version of the *Amara-koṣa* [Dharmaśālā edn. p. 2] reads this stem wrongly as *di -bau -kas-* i. e., *dib=aukas-* [using the bilabial *b* instead of the normal dento-labial *v*].

9. *vṛtti-viṣaye vā 'kārānto diva-śabdo 'sti* / [*Svopajñātatta-prakāśikā bṛhad-vṛtti* on the *Siddha--Hemacandra-Śabdānuśāsana*, Amṛta Series, No. 1, Bombay, 1969, Vol 1 (=Chs. I-V), ad 2.1.118, p. 71[b]].

10. *akārānto 'pi diva-śabdo 'sti* / [*Durghaṭa-vṛtti* ed. T. Ganapati SASTRI, T(rivandrum) S(anskrit) S(eries),No. 6, Trivandrum, 1909, ad 6.1. 131, p. 97].

11. *akārānto 'pi diva-śabdo 'sti* / [*Ṭīkā-sarvasva* on Amarasiṁha's *Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana*, Part I, TSS.,No. 38, Trivandrum, 1914, ad 1.1.7[d] pp. 8-9].

12. *yad vā.........diva- śabdo 'd-anto 'py asti* / *Sañjīvinī* on Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaśṁśa* ed. N. R., ACHARYA, 11th edn., NSP., Bombay, 1948, ad 10.7[b], p. 249].

13. *diva->śabdo 'd-antaḥ* / [*Rāmāśramī* on Amarasiṁha's *Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana*, op. cit., p. 5[b]].

14. *ad-anta-diva-śabda-proyogo Buddha-carite* / ........[*Tri-kāṇḍa-cintā-maṇi* on Amarasiṁha's *Amarakośa*, ed. C.M. TARKARATNA, Calcutta, 1886, ad 1.1.2[d], p. 11].

15. *div-śabdārthake divan-śabde,*
*mandaraḥ sairibhaḥ* (*sauribhaḥ*——sic.)
*Śakrabhavanaṁ khaṁ divaṁ nabha* [/]
*iti Tri-kāṇḍa-śeṣoktā* [-'] *d-anta-diva-śabde vā* (*°ktādanta divaśabde-vā .........sic.*). *div=aukasaḥ* /
[*Prayoga-ratan--mālā*. ed. Siddhantha VIDYA VAGISH, Kocavihara (Cooch Bihar), *Śakābda* 1812 (=1890 A. D.), Vol. I, p. 260].

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Maheśvara[16] also records his acceptance of this *akārānta* stem.

(3) Thirdly, the selfsame hemistich of Puruṣottamadeva's *Tri-kaṇḍa-śeṣa* has also been cited by Śaaraṇdeva[18], Bhānuji Dīkṣita[19] and Puruṣottama[20].

(4) Fourthly, the same citation from Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddha-carita*, 8.13 has also been given by Ujjvaladatta[21], Śaraṇadeva [22], Sarvānanda[23] Mallinātha[24] and Raghunātha Cakravartin[25].

Ātreya and Subhūticandra, as referred to by Sāyaṇa[26], appear to cite the fourth *caraṇa* of the *Buddha-carita* verse in question.

(5) Fifthly, Bṛhaspati refers to a view which explains away the absence of *uttva*, i. e., the irregular non-substitution of *v* by *u*[*t*] of the *hal-anta* [to be precise, *vakārā-nta*] stem of the *pūrva-pada*, *div-*, in the compound stem *div-okas-*, on the strength of Pāṇini's rule, *pṛṣodarā-* "*dīni*

16. *divaṁ dyauḥ svarga-loke ca gagane ca prayujyate* //
[*Viśva-prakāśa*, ed. Sīlaskandha STHAVIRA and Ratnagopāla BHATTA, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Nos. 160 & 168, Banaras, 1911, v. 22cb under *va-dvika* in the *vā-'nta-varga*, p. 164].
17. *Cf.* the *Tri-kāṇḍa-śesa*, ed. C. A. SEELAKKHANDHA MAHA THERA, Khemaraja Shrikrishnadasa edn., Bombay, 1916, 1.1.4cd, p. 3.
18. *divaṁ nabha iti A*(*ma* ? *pa*)*raḥ* / [*Durghaṭa-vṛtti*, *op. cit.*, p. 97].
19. *mandaraḥ sairibhaḥ Śakra-bhava* (*sada*) *nam khaṁ divaṁ nabhaḥ* [//] *iti Tri-kaṇḍn-śeṣat* / [*Rāmāśramī* on Amarasiṁha's *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, *op. cit.*, p. 5b]
20. *Cf. Prayoga-ratna-mālā*, *op. cit.*, p. 260.
21, 22 & 23. *Cf.* the present writer's *Aśvaghoṣa : A Critical Study*, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, First Edition, 1976, p. 30-31.
24. *tathā ca Buddha-carite*———
*na śobhate tena hi no vina puraṁ*
*Marutvatā Vṛtra-vadhe yathā divam* [//]*iti* /
[*Sañjīvinī* on Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, *op. cit.*, p. 249].
25. *Cf.* the footnotes 21, 22 & 23 *supra*.
26. ………*tathā ca Ātreya-Subhūticandrābhyāṁ prayoga darśitaḥ*…………

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*yathopadiṣṭam.* The printed text of the *Pada-candrikā* attributes this view to *Cāndrāḥ* (v. l. Hemacandraḥ & Haṭṭacandraḥ/Haḍḍacandraḥ).

Śaraṇadeva[27] and Sāyaṇa[28] also refer to this view of the Cāndra-s. But it is strange that this view cannot be found in the latest printed edition of Candragomin's Sanskrit grammar[29] whlch is totally silent on this issue.

The variant *Hemacandraḥ* is also equally questionable because Hemacandra[3] pleads for the *uttavā-'bhāva* in the compound stem *div=aukas-* only. He says that the stem of the *pūrva-pada, div-*, does not admit of *uttva* before the stem of the *uttara-pada, -okas-,* because the *v* of *div-* can no longer be treated as *padā-'nta* inasmuch as this *v* happens to be *akārā-'nta* through the *pṛṣodarā-''divat akāra āgama.*

Vardhamāna[31] and Mallinātha[32] also hold the same view.

Nor can one check the validity of the ascription of the afore-said view to the inaccessible text of Haṭṭacandra/Haḍḍacandra.

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*Marutvatā Vṛtra-vadhe yathā divam* (*yathādivam—sic.*) *iti* / [*Mādhavīyā Dhātu-vṛtti, op. cit.*, p. 402].

27. *Cāndraiḥ pṛṣodarā-''ditvād uttvā-'bhāva* (*utvābhāvā——sic.*) *iṣyate* / [*Durghaṭa-vṛtti, op. cit* , p. 97].

28. *Cāndrās tu pūrvavad yaṇi okārasya pṛṣodarā-'ditvād vṛddhim āhuḥ* / [*Mādhāvīyā Dhātu-vṛtti, op. cit.*, p. 402].

29. *divo 'nte cot* // [*Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*, ed. K. C. Chatterji, Part II (chs. 4-6), *Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography*, No. 13, Deccan College Postgraduate & Research Institute, Poona-6, 1st edn. November, 1961, 5.1.135, p. 155].

30. *div=aukasa iti tu pṛṣodarā- ''ditvād akārā- ''game bhaviṣyati* / [*Svopajñā Tattva-prakāśikā Bṛhad-vṛtti* on the *Siddha-Hemacandra-Śabdānuśāsana, op. cit.*, p. 71b].

31. *Cf.* the *Gaṇa-ratna-mahodadhi*, ed. Bhīmasena Sharma, Prayaga, 1894, 2.149, p. 103.

32. *dyaur oko yeśāṁ te div=aukaso devāḥ* / *pṛṣodarā- ''ditvāt sādhuḥ* / [*Sañjīvinī* on Kālidāsa's, *Raghuvaṁśa, op. cit.*, p. 249].

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(6) Sixthly, Bṛhaspati refers to the view of Maitreya [rakṣita] who supports the compound stem *div-okas-* by substituting at first the *v* of *div-* by *u* and then this *u* by *v* through *yaṇ-sandhi* before the initial *asavarṇa ac*, *o*, of the stem of the *uttara-pada*, *okas-*.

Śaraṇadeva[33] and Sāyaṇa[34] also refer to the view of Maitreyarakṣita. But Maitreyarakṣita's *Dhātupradīpa* does not record any such view. Should one trace this point to the hitherto unpublished text of his *Tantra-pradīpa*.

(7) Seventhly, Bṛhaspati clarifies Maitreya's standpoint by accepting the *yaṇ ādeśa* [i. e., the substitution of *u* by *v*] of the *vakāra-sthānika ukāra* in *div-* before the initial *asavarṇa ac*, *o*, of *-okas-*, and applying the *sthānivad-bhāva* [*i y*] to the further *yaṇ ādeśa* [i. e., the substitution of *i* by *y*] in *div-*.

Śaraṇadeva[35] and Bhānuji[36] give the same explanation.

(8) Eighthly, Bṛhaspati refers to Govardhana's view that the final *vakāra-* of *div* need not simply be changed to *u*[*t*] before the stem of the *uttara-pada*, *-okas-*, because the compound stem is a *yoga-rūḍha saṁjñā-śabda*.

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33. *kathaṁ div-okasa iti*, *uttve* (*utve——sic.*) *kṛte pūrvottara-padayor yaṇi div-okasa iti syāt* / *ucyate* / *śabda-para-vipratiṣedhād ukārasya yaṇi rūpam iti Rakṣitaḥ* /[*Durghaṭa-vṛtti*, *op. cit.*, p. 96].

34. *div ut ity atra Rakṣitaḥ—uttve kṛte śabda-para-vipratiṣedhāt tasya yaṇi div-okasa ity avṛddhiḥ iti* / [*Mādhavīyā Dhātu-vṛtti*, *op. cit.*, p. 402].

35. *acaḥ parasmin pūrva-vidhau* (1.1.57) *iti sthānivattvād ikārasya na yaṇ* / *sakṛd gatau vipratiṣedhe iti nyāyāt* / [*Durghaṭa-vṛtti*, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97].

36. *śabda-para-vipratiṣedhāt parasya yaṇ ādeśaḥ* / *sthānivattvena pūrvasya na yaṇ sakṛd gatau* (1.4.2 *paribhāṣā*) *iti nyāyāt* // [*Rāmāśramī* on Amarasiṁha's *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, *op. cit.*, p. 5b ].

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But Goverdhana's view cannot be verified now in the absence of his relevant text in print.

(9) Ninthly, Bṛhaspati quotes from Rantideva.

Bhānuji[37] also records the same quotation from the hitherto undiscovered text of Rantideva.

(10) Tenthly, Bṛhaspati justifies the correctness of both the compound stems, *div-okas-* and *div=aukas-*, by accepting the stem of the *pūrva-pada* as *diva*, and deriving it with the help of the primary suffix -[*k*]*a*-. So the euphonic combination of the final *akāra* of the stem of the *pūrva-pada*, *diva-*, and the initial *okāra* of the stem of the *uttara-pada*, *-okas-*, will yield both *div-okas-* [on the strength of the *pṛṣodarā-"di gaṇa*] and *div=aukas-* [through regular *vṛddhi-sandhi*].

Now, Ujjvaladatta[38] and Mallinātha[39] derive the stem *diva-* with the help of the *ig-upadha-lakṣaṇa* –[*k*]*a*- while Sāyaṇa[40] refers to a view which resorts to the -[*k*]*a*- in the sense of -[*gh*]*a*[*ñ*]-.

Anyway, the stem *diva-* is *adhikaraṇa-sādhana*.

(11) Lastly, Bṛhaspati refers to Vimalamati's *Bhāga-vṛtti* which accepts the existence of a separate *nakārā-'nta puṁliṅga* stem, *divan-* deriving it with the help of an *uṇ-ādi* suffix, -[*k*]*an*[*in*]-. This stem loses its final *nakāra* in the *alaukika-vigraha-vākya* stage when compounded with the

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37. *syād div=aukā div-okāś ca deve vāpīha-pakṣiṇi* (*cāpīha pakṣiṇi—sic.*) *iti Rantidevaḥ* / [*Rāmāśramī* on Amarasiṁha's *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, *op. cit.*, p. 5b].

38. *anye ka-pratyayā-'ntena div-śabdenā 'karā-'ntena* (*karā—sic.*) *sādhayanti* [*Uṇ-ādi-sūtra-vṛtti*, ed. Jīvānanda Vidya Sagara, Calcutta, 1873, ad 1.156, p. 58].

39. *tatra div* [*u*] *krīḍā-"dau iti dhātoḥ ig-upadha-* Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3.1.135 *iti kaḥ*/ [*Sañjīvinī* on Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, *op. cit.*, p. 249].

40. *anye tu......dīvyanty asmin n-iti divam* [*gh*]*a*[*ñ*]*-arthe* [*k*]*avidhānam iti* [*k*]*aḥ, tatra vṛddhir eci iti vṛddhi iti* / [*Mādhavīyā Dhātu vṛtti*, *op. cit.*, p. 402].

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stem of the *uttara-pada*, *-okas-*. The resultant compound stem will be *div=aukas-*.

The view of the *Bhāga-vṛtti* has also been recorded by Ujjvaladatta[41], Śaraṇadeva[42] and Śrīpatidatta[43].

Puruṣottama[44] also accepts the *nakārā-'nta* stem *divan-* while expounding the compound stem *div=aukas-*.

Thus we find that both *div-okas-* and *div=aukas-* are correct as compound stems according to the Sanskrit grammarians and lexicographers. Early literary usage also confirms this conclusion. The varied explanation offered by the Sanskrit grammarians at different periods of time show that these two compound stems once posed as tough morophological problems.

41. *pratidivā divasaḥ| bahula-vacanāt kevalād api kanin n-iti| tena div= aukasa ity atra vṛddhir bhavatīti diva ut* / Pā[ṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*], 6.1.131. *iti atra Bhāga-vṛttiḥ* / [*Uṇ-ādi-sūtra-vṛtti*, *op. cit.*, ad 1.156, p. 58].

42. [*k*]*an*[*in*] *-pratyayā-'ntena divā oko yeṣām iti Bhāga-vṛitiḥ* // [*Durghaṭa-vṛtti*, *op. cit.*, p. 97].

43. *yady api dīv-arthe divam iti niścitam, tathā 'py okāra-nivṛttyarth ...div= aukasaḥ| tathāca Bhāga-vṛttikṛtā Vimalamatinā 'py eṣa nipātitam* [*Kātantra-pariśiṣṭa.vṛtti*, *Sandhi*, 142 as citted in the *Bhāga-vṛiti-saṁkalana* by Yudhisthira Mīmansaka, Ajmer, Samvat (sara) 2021, ad 96, p. 33].

44. *Prayoga-ratna-mālā*, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

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Mukund Madhava SHARMA, Gauhati:

# A NOTE ON THE SAYING— इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत्

There is an oft-quoted celebrated verse which means as follows: "The ideas contained in the Vedic literature should be elucidated with the help of *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*. The Veda (i. e., the Vedic literature) is scared of one who is not well-read with the fear 'this one will kill me'." The original verse runs as follows:

इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।
विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद् वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥

This verse occurs in the following places: *Mahābhārata* (1.1.269); *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (1.201), *Padmapurāṇa* (5.2.52) *Śivapurāṇa* (5.1.35) and *Vāśiṣṭhadharmaśāstra* (27.6). Rāmānuja also quotes it as a Purāṇic text[1]. The portion '*vedaṁ samupabrṁhayet*' may also mean that the Vedic literature is to be 'extended' or 'supplemented' or 'strengthened'[2]. Here it has been preferred to take it in the sense of 'elucidation of the Vedic ideas' in the light of the *Tilaka* commentary of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where the same idea is conveyed by the following verse;

स तु मेधाविनौ दृष्ट्वा वेदेषु परिनिष्ठितौ ।
वेदोपबृंहणार्थाय तावग्राहयत प्रभु ॥[3]

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1. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 48, p. 91.
2. The last meaning is given by M. WINTERNITZ ( as translated by Mrs. KETKAR). Vide, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, reprinted 1977, p. 527.
3. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.4.6.

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Rāma in the *Tilaka* commentary gives the following explanation: *Upabṛṁhaṇa* means the understanding of the implications in respect of the various ideas of the Veda. With this very purpose Vālmīki imparted the knowledge of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to Lava and Kuśa, who were already well-versed in the Vedic lore. With this reference to *vedopabṛṁhaṇa*, Vālmiki himself suggests that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is meant to convey the very implications of the *śruti* and that the *Rāmāayṇa* is based on an authority, and is adorable. *Cf.*—

उपबृंहणं वेदस्य तत्तदर्थे तात्पर्यग्रहणं तद्रूपायार्थाय प्रयोजनाय। अनेन श्रुतितात्पर्य-विषयीभूतार्थप्रतिपादकतया प्रामाण्यमस्योपादेयत्वं च सूचितम्।[4]

Now the question is what are the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*. The types of literature known as *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* were already familiar in the Vedic literature itself. For we have :

(i) "इतिहासस्य च वै स पुराणस्य गाथानां नाराशंसीनां ह प्रियं धाम भवति य एवं वेद" (अथर्ववेद, 15.6.12).

(ii) "………अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद् यदृग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वांगिरस इतिहासः पुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः श्लोकाः सूत्राण्यनुव्याख्यानानि व्याख्यानानि ………निःश्वसितानि।" (शतपथब्राह्मण,14.6.10.6)

(iii) "स होवाच ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहास-पुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदम्।" (छान्दोग्य उप०, 7.1.1).

"……There are numerous narratives in the *Brāhmaṇas* which deal with the origin of some matter or some institution. Such legends of origin, to which also the creation-legends belong"[5] are meant by the term

4. *Tilaka* on *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.4.6.

5. WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 1, reprinted 1977, p. 218.

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*Purāṇa*, as we findit in the above extracts, while the term *Itihāsa* (or *Ākhyāna*) in such places refer to the stories of gods, demi-gods and men. *Cf.*

"इतिहास इत्युर्वशीपुरुरवसोः संवादादिरुर्वशी ह्यप्सरा इत्यादि ब्राह्मणमेव, पुराण-मसद् वा इदमग्र आसीदित्यादि ।"[6]

But in the extaact, 'इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत्' there srems to be a more precise reference only to the eighteen *Mahāpurāṇas*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyāṇa* by the terms *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsa* respectively.

It is not difficult to understand the eighteen *Mahāpurāṇas* from the term *Purāṇā*. The *Mahābhārata* is called an *Itihāsa* in the *Mahābhārata* itself. *Cf.*—

जयनामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो विजिगीषुणा ।

(महा० आदि०,62.22)

Elsewhere also, in the classical Sanskrit literature, the term *Itihāsa* is invariably illustrated with a reference to the *Mahābhārata*. For example, Medhatithi, in his gloss on *Manusamhitā*, 3.222[7] says: "इतिहासा महाभारतादयः । पुराणानि व्यासादिप्रणीतानि सृष्ट्यादिवर्णनरूपाणि ।" etc. Thus the *Mahābhārata* is a stock example of the term *Itihāsa*. But the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not call itself an *Itihāsa*. It is referred to by the terms *Kāvya*;[8] *Gītā*,[9] *Samhitā*[10] and *Akhyāna*[11]. But even then it has come to be a vogue to recognise the *Rāmāyaṇa* also as an *Itihāsa*. No less an authority than V. RAGHAVAN *inter-alia* observes ; "All minor poems are derived from the

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6. *Śāṁkarabhāṣya* on *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, 2.4.10.
7. स्वाध्यायं श्रावयेत् पित्र्ये धर्मशास्त्राणि चैव हि ।
   आख्यानानीतिहासांश्च पुराणानि खिलानि च ॥ मनु० .222·
   The verse number, however, varies from edition to edition
8. *Rām, Bāla*, 2.41; *Yuddha*, 128.105
9. *Ibid* , *Bāla*, 4.27.
10. *Ibid.*, *Yuddha*, 128.120.
11. *Ibid.*, *Bāla*, 4.32, *Yuddha*, 128.118.

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*Mahākāvya* which is derived from the *Itihāsa*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* which are the only two survivals of the very ancient *Itihāsa* literature."[12]

The *Rāmāyaṇa* decidedly and severally calls itself an *Ākhyāna* as in the following places:

(i) आश्चर्यमिदमाख्यानं मुनीनां संप्रकीर्तितम् (1.4.26).

(ii) श्रूयतामेतदाख्यानमनयोर्देववर्चसो: (1.4.32).

(iii) महदुत्पन्नमाख्यानं रामायणमिति श्रुतम् (1.5.3).

(iv) एवमेतत्पुरावृत्तमाख्यानं भद्रमस्तु व: (6.128,118).

On the other hand, the *Mahābhārata* also calls itself an *Ākhyāna* so as to give the impression that the term *Ākhyāna* is synonymous with the term *Itihāsa*. *Cf.*—

यो विद्याच्चतुरो वेदान् साङ्गोपनिषदो द्विज: ।
न चाख्यानमिदं विद्यान्नैव स स्याद्विचक्षण: ॥ (महा॰ 1.2.82)

Maurice WINTERNITZ also points out that these terms were at times used as synonymous also.[13] On the strength of this casual synonymity, perhaps the *Rāmāyaṇa* also deserves to be recognised as an *Itihāsa* work.

Let us now see with some illustrations how the ideas of the Vedic literature are further unfolded in the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*.

In the *Ṛgveda* we find the following celebrated *mantra*:

इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे त्रेधा निदधे पदम् ।
समूल्हमस्य पांसुरे ॥ (ऋ॰ 1.22.17)

12. *Bhoja*, *Śṛṅgāraprkāśa*, p. 608.
13. "The Indians are not consistent in their use of the expression *ākhyāna*, *itihāsa* and *purāṇa*, for they sometimes use them as synonyms, but at other times to mean various kinds of narratives. The epic "*Mahābhārata*" in the Introduction is called alternately *itihāsa*, *purāṇa* and *ākhyāna*." WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 311n.

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Here is a reference to the three steps of Viṣṇu, who is identical with the sun. These three steps, as explained by Śākpūṇi, quoted by Yāska, represent the course of the sun through the three divisions of the universe. According to Aurṇavabha, as quoted by Yāska, these steps mean the rising, culminating and setting of the sun. There are also some more slightly varying explanations given by modern scholars. But in the present context what is of immediate importance is that this very Vedic reference to the three steps of Viṣṇu has ultimately developed into the legend of *Balichalana*, i. e., the deception of Bali by Viṣṇu, in his Dwarf incarnation, as he asked for only three steps of land. This legened is given in six cantos of the eighth Book of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. There are numerous other such Puranic legends, the origin of which may be traced back to the Vedic literature.

There is enough lacuna in the legend of Purūravas and Urvaśī contained in the eighteen stanzas of *ṚV* X. 95, which is recognized as a dialogue-hymn. The story is retold in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* with the repetition of fifteen of the said eighteen stanzas and explanatory additions. Yet the story remains somewhat incoherent. In consonance with the maxim इतिहासपुराणाभ्याम् etc., the story is given again in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and also in the *Harivaṁśa*, which is an appendix to the *Mahābhārata*.

The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* candidly declares in the third introductory verse that it is the ripe fruit of the wish-yielding tree in the form of the Vedic literature, and it presents the ideas of the Veda in a more palatable form. *Cf.*—

निगमकल्पतरोर्गलितं फलं शुकमुखादमृतद्रवसंयुतम् ।
पिबत भागवतं रसमालयं मुहुरहो रसिका भुवि भावुकाः ॥

The *Mahābhārata*, containing 18 *parvans*, has been composed for the *upabṛṁhaṇa* of the Vedic ideas. The philosophy of the Veda presented

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by the *Mahābhārata* in the form of a systematic elucidation with the help of the 18 chapters of the *Gītā*. The sum and substance of the whole of the *Gītā* is given with the help of the 18 verses of the second chapter where the traits of a *sthitaprajña* are elaborated.[14] These 18 verses have a direct correspondence with the 18 stanzas of the *Īśopaniṣad*, which also contains the teachings of the Veda in the most sublime form, in so far as it asks to 'enjoy with a sense of renuuciation'[15] like the *sthitaprajña* who remains equally disposed towards pleasure and pain, and loss and gain, etc.

It may be presumed that what is given in the 18 *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* is given again in the *Purāṇa*s and the 18 *Upa-Purāṇas*. The same ideas are propagated most purposefully also through the 18 thousand verses of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. The recurrence of the number eighteen[16] in this context is not merely a coincidence. Correspondences like this lead us to the irresistible conclusion that the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* and the *Gītā* and the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* are all ontologically linked up, all of them deriving the basic inspiration from the Vedic literature itself. For example, while analysing the tradition of the *Bhāgvata dharma* in *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntipārvan*, 346.10, Vaiśampāyana tells Janamejaya that this very religion is retold in brief in the *Harigītā* (or the *Bhagavadgītā*)[17]. That the *Gītā* is related to the *Upaniṣads* is already indicated.

Like the number eighteen connected in different ways with *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇa*s, the number of the verses found in the *Māhābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* is also very significant, and what is more important is

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14. From verse 2.54, etc. to verse 2.71, etc.

15. "तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः" (ईशोपनिषद्, 1).

16. The *Mahābhārata* war lasted for eighteen days, and it witnessed the fall of eighteen *Akṣauhiṇīs* of soldiers.

17. कथितो हरिगीतासु समासविधिकल्पतः ।

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that this number also ingenuously warrants the relation of the epics with Vedic literature. The *Mahābhārata* grew from an originally smaller size to its present form through three prominent phases. In the initial stage it had 8,800 stanzas, and in the second stage it came to contain 24,000 stanzas and at this stage it was without the 'secondary stories'. *Cf.*—

चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्री चक्रे भारतसंहिताम् ।
उपाख्यानैर्विना तावत् भारतं प्रोच्यते बुधैः ॥ (महा० 1.1.52)

On the other hand it is traditionally believed that the legend of Rama has been originally sung in one hundred crore verses, and Vālmīki presented the same in an abridged form in his own *Rāmāyaṇa* containig twenty four thousand verses, five hundred cantos and seven *kāṇḍas*. *Cf.*—

चतुर्विंशत्सहस्राणि श्लोकानामुक्तवानृषिः ।
तथा सर्गशतान् पंच षट् काण्डानि तथोत्तरम् ॥ (रामा० 1.4.2)

Rāma, the commentator, in his *Tilaka* commentary, says that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is an abridgement of the original one hundred crore verses, and the number twentyfour thousand signifies that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is an elaboration of the knowledge of the supreme self, which is epitomized by the *Gāyatrī-mantra* of Veda, containing twentyfour letters. *Cf.*—

स्वकृतशतकोटिरामायणसारभूतं चतुर्विंशत्यक्षरगायत्र्याख्यपरब्रह्मविद्याविलासभूतं रामायणं चतुर्विंशतिसहस्रश्लोकरूपं कुशलवाभ्यामग्राहयत् ।(Com. on *Rāmāyaṇa*,1.1.1)

The same significance may perhaps be attached to the *Mahābhārata* also which in its rudimentary form contains twentyfour thousand verses.

According to the above explanation, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is an *upabṛṁhaṇa* of the *Gāyatrī mantra*, which contains the significance of the Veda(*vedārtha*)

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in a nutshell. The commentator further asserts that the first canto of the *Rāmāyaṇa* embodies the substance of the whole epic and that Vālmīki has deliberately started the first canto with the first letter of the *Gāyatrī mantra* and concluded the first canto with the final letter of the *Gayatrī mantra* Thus the first letter of *Gayatrī* is *ta* (*cf.* तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यम्, etc.) and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.1.1 also begins wiih *ta* (*cf.* तपःस्वाध्यायनिरतम्, etc.). The last letter of *Gāyatrī* is *t* (*cf.* धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ), and the last letter of the first canto is also *t* ( *cf.* जनश्च शूद्रोऽपि महत्त्वमीयात् ).[18]

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18. अस्य गायत्र्यप्रतिपादकत्वध्वननाय गायत्र्यादिमाक्षरेणोपक्रम्य यादितिगायत्र्यन्तिमाक्षरेण समापितवान् । –*Tilaka* com. on *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.1.1·

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Susan L. SCHWARTZ, New York:

# THE HEROIC EPIC OF QUEST : A STUDY OF THE *RĀMĀYAṆA* AND THE *ODYSSEY*

**Prelude:**

The realm of epic is full of mysteries and wonders. Worlds of fantasy interact with worlds of mundane reality—the one appears to inform the other. Indeed, it is often difficult, in heroic epic, to distinguish between the fantastic and the mundane: perhaps they are two dimensions of the same whole, some elusive wholeness which inspires the mythic mind. The *Rāmāyaṇa* speaks a mythological language, and in this it is not alone among epics. Its *mythos*, its story, engages its audience on many levels—the adventure, the romance, the wisdom of its observations concerning life and humankind. Mythic thought does not offer a single message, but a range of insights. For this reason there is no single key to the understanding of myth, or a work based upon it, such as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and volumes of insightful scholarship may exhaust the scholar, and the student, but will never exhaust the epic.

Should one try to grasp that elusive wholeness which provides mythology with its mode of discourse, one would find oneself in the position of Menelaos, the husband of Helen of Trojan War fame, when he, beached during his return home, sought to hold fast the ancient one of the sea, Proteus. For Proteus, like the monkeys and *rākṣasas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, could change his form at will: he could grow large and small, become fierce as a lion, slippery as a serpent, immutable as a tall tree. Just so, the mythic vision is organic, alive, and mercurial, changeable. It resists with stubborn persistence our attempts to reduce or even to define it. Still, we are bound, like Menelaos, to try to hold on long enough so that this vision may tell us something we long to know, something past, present or future which will give unity to what appears to be chaos. Proteus, the old man of the sea, or myth, the vision comprised

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of fantasy and reality whose pride is in being a *whole* vision-both can be of varying comlexity, of pontential danger, and of great value to those who are stranded ashore.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, then, presents us with a mythic world, replete with elements of the fantastic. It shares this quality with other heroic epics, notably Homer's *Odyssey*. The Greek epic may help to illuminate aspects of the Indian, and vice-versa. They are both products of oral tradition, that is, the oral recitation by bards of popular stories over long periods of time, culminating in a written version. One of the earliest such written versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story is Vālmīki's, and it is this version only which will be considered below. The changes wrought upon the epic by later poets transformed the original story in deference to the growing belief in Rama as a god—the incarnation of Viṣṇu, in fact. In the Vālmiki version, Rāma's true identity is mysterious and his human qualities are emphasized. The first and last books of the Vālmiki text are generally accepted to be later additions, and it is there that the divine nature of the hero is most explicit. Therefore, in order to pursue the mythic *Rāmāyaṇa* as heroic epic, without the incursion of later cult developments, we shall consider Rāma as a hero, in the same way the Homeric heroes are viewed: that is, he is extra-ordinary, he has direct relationships with divine figures, but he is ultimately subject to the laws of human life. He is born, he suffers, he must die.

It ls not neccessary, however, to ignore the first and last books of the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*, even though they are later additions. Indeed, the story as it is extended in these books is more meaningful in the context of a study of heroic epic as a whole. Rather, it will be the understanding in this discussion that what came to be included in the Vālmiki corpus were those episodes which the oral tradition of Rāma stories felt *had* to be included to make the larger story whole. The epic could not be complete without them; the integrity of the mythic vision would have been marred without them.

It is also necessary to address, at the outset, the notion that the Vālmiki *Rāmāyaṇa* is "artificial" in some way, that is to say, its composition is not purely a product of tradition. This particular change appears to refer to the self-consciousness of the epic, particularly in the first and last books, and the fact that it conforms to the conventions of a certain kind of poetry which has come to be known in India as *mahākāvya*. To

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be sure, the Vālmiki text is self-conscious: it is stylistically refined and the poet declares himself to be engaged in a holy task. He begins with an invocation in story form—the poet's story of how he received the story. Homer, of course, begins his *Odyssey* in much the same manner, however abbreviated, and has refined his style to suit the story. That both the *Odyssey* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* are a step removed from the epics of war, for example the *Iliad* and the *Mahābhārata*, in terms of style as well as in content, does not make them "artificial", in any derogatory sense of the word. Rather, it places them in another category, and their respective poets, too, are transformed by the degree of self-consciousness and vision they have directed to their work. We are dealing, here, with a form of epic which represents a step towards narrative tradition as we know it. It bears the stamp of its creator more clearly than did those forms which preceded it, and so, in this sense, it is "artificial," less anonymous, more refined, tighter in construction.

In the past, those who, for whatever reason, wished to compare the *Rāmāyaṇa* with the Homeric corpus, chose the *Iliad* as the closer work, on the basis that it, too, speaks of a battle to win back a woman. This is a superficial analogy at best. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is much more closely allied with the *Odyssey*. Not only do both belong to the category of self-conscious poetry noted above, but they are both epics of an individual quest, heavy with mythic elements. This latter theme will be explored in detail in this study, and further areas of similarity will appear as well. First, it is important to clarify the basic assumptions which are to be utilized in this most dangerous undertaking, that is, the comparison of the Indian with the Greek epic of search. For, the danger consists in making our analogies too facile, discounting differences in the attempt to establish similarities. It is, above all, essential to retain our respect for these two epics as independent expressions in epic form of the mythic mind in two separate cultures. Each epic boasts its own view of the world and its own integrity as text.

**Some Notes on the Rāmāyaṇa and the Odyssey:**

It has neither been established, nor has it been assumed herein, that any direct contact between the two cultures influenced the development of either epic in the direction of the other. Rather, it will be the working pretext of this study that the two epics evolved independently, from a mythological background which may, or may not, have been held in

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common by the two cultures. Further, scholars of Indo-European studies inform us that the Indo-Aryan and Greek spheres held in common a particular ancestry, and, thereby, a similar mythic heritage. It cannot be denied that the linguistic ties between the Aryan tribes which invaded the Indian sub-continent, and those tribes which precipitated what is called the "flowering" of Greece, are traceable and highly suggestive. Where language goes, so goes a way of thought. Nevertheless, what follows below need not be read as an attempt either to prove or disprove the idea that the Indians and Greeks shared, in some respect, a pre-history which made their later cultural developments inevitably similar. It is left to the reader to decide whether the apparently similar conceptualizations involved in the development of these two great epics of quest required for their genesis a shared linguistic or mythological ancestry. It is at least equally possible that the basis of those similarities between the Greek and Indian visions is psychological, that is, a product of a shared psychological heritage, which may or may not have its roots in linguistic ties. The Protean nature of myth and its epic expression dictates our attitude: avenues of interpretation are many and what may serve to hold the lion may be useless for the serpent. Origins, or ontology, may help us identify the nature of the beast, but ultimately it must be the thing itself, each epic in its own way, which must guide us to our conclusions, if conclusions are our goal.

The first thing that strikes one about these two epics is how different they are. On the most superficial level, the *Odyssey* is compact, and the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* is quite long in its entirety. Like the performative arts in India even today, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is characterized by a languorous sensualty, a wealth of descriptive detail, a delight in stylization, a profusion of colors in deep, rich hues. It is extravagant, and lush. This is the Indian ethos at its most expressive, declaring the tangibility of her natural richess, and the pride with which her inhabitants regard it. Physical beauty in men, women, and the setting of each scene... even the seasons and the landscapes...are described in detail. Moreover, emotions are as changeable as the fortunes of men, and characters express themselves freely and with abandon in this regard. In comparison, Homer speaks with a lucid grace, with a controlling sensitivity. The richness of the Pre-Hellenic world is stated with moderation and clarity and, although here, too, emotions may seem excessive and changeable to our taste, they are less so. In physical characteristics, such as length, these two epics differ widely.

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In the *Odyssey*, the opening finds the hero already missing from his home for almost twenty years...indeed, we meet his son and wife before we do him. Odysseus, the hero, has spent ten years at Troy, and the following decade trying to reach home and hearth again. It is the second ten years which is the primary concern of this epic: the battles of Troy are memorable as history only, and because Troy provided the setting for Odysseus' most famous device, the legendary Trojan horse. But as the *Odyssey* emphasizes, the hollow horse which, filled with Achaian warriors, brought the seige of Troy to an end at last, .was only one of Odysseus' devices. He is, in fact, most known for his guile, his cleverness, his ability to out-guess and out-maneuver everyone except his divine helper, the equally guileful Athena. He is often in disguise, and he is a weaver of stories, false and true: both characteristics he shares with the Goddess. The first line of the *Odyssey* gives us the clue to his nature...a man of many turns...in metaphoric terms, he is like a dancer. And when he returns, at last, to Ithaca, he has lost all of his companions, the loot of his victory, and he appears as a stranger to all except his faithful dog and an old servant. He has survived by guile and he makes full use of it at home to achieve triumph over his enemies. And odd hero, this, who attains his goals by trickery, using masks. He is very different from his counterparts in the *Iliad*, just as his epic is woven with a kind of skill diffeient from that which characterizes that earlier work.

Rāma's exile does not begin until well into the epic. We have, by then, seen him born and educated and married. We have met his family, his teachers and his subjects. He leaves home not to go to war, but to fulfill his father's command, forced from the elderly king by a wife of malicious intent. This exile is for fourteen years, and requires not military battle, but the ascetic life of the forest. This latter aspect is fitting in the Indian context, where the sons of the well-to-do governing class were separated from their families regularly to undergo such a contemplative period before taking on worldly duties. The drama which precipitates this exile in Rāma's case is all the more notable in view of this convention. Rāma is clearly and uniquely put in the position of having to prove himself in order to reclaim the kingdom which is wrongly being ruled by his younger brother. He has not gone to the forest willingly, as a natural condition of his future kingship, but by the force of another's will. There is some basis within the tradition of Greek

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mythology for the idea that Odysseus, too, was not altogether willing to leave home for the war at Troy, but this is not explicit in Homer. Unlike Odysseus, when Rāma returns, he does so with his full retinue, his wife and his brother, not to mention many friends and allies whom he has won along the way. It is a triumphant return, whereas Odysseus' is accomplished in secret, in disguise.

In contrast to that master of wit, Odysseus, Rāma appears the most straightforward of men, almost to the point of naivete. He is known for his truthfulness, honesty and religious devotion. We are troubled in our reading when he commits questionable acts, such as the teasing of Śūrpaṇakhā, the killing of Bāli, the trial and banishment of Sītā. The only plausible explanation for the seeming inconsistency of such acts is that Rāma is more complex than he seems, and that his struggle is, among other things, a struggle to accommodate the necessities of his own life in relation to that of others. There was, no doubt, conflict and tension within the Rāma tradition concerning such problems within the developing mythology. Often we see characters weighing priorities, seeking the proper course of action within the sphere of their own *dharma*, or earthly duty. Is Rāma more son than heir, more husband than king, more victim than victor ? These questions are confronted time and again, with no easy resolution. This kind of moral dilemma is essential to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, while it is almost completely absent in the *Odyssey*. Odysseus always knows his role.

In fact, the role that Odysseus knows is the same one which Rāma must acknowledge as ultimately the most important, and that is the role of king. Both epics are stories of kings. These two men are rulers, and define their goals according to the ideals of the ruling class. The other most important role for both heroes is that of son. The *Odyssey* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* are also stories of fathers and sons. In both we are told of three generations. Odysseus, the king, has been gone from home and throne and is longing for his wife, Penelope. Laertes, the past king and the hero's father, has withdrawn and is as if dead, while Telemachus, Odysseus' son, an infant when his father was called to war, is now trying desperately to achieve manhood in a hostile environment without a father to guide him. Past, present and future kings: these three are a central theme of the epic. Similarly, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the story tells of Rāma wandering the forest seeking his captured wife, and Daśaratha, his father,

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dying of grief at his son's exile. Rāma's twin sons grow up apart from their rightful inheritance, without their father, yet singing his praises (his song) while innocent of their own real identity. Just as Telemachus cannot really know who he is until he meets his father, so Lava and Kuśa remain in the dark, in the forest, until their father comes and recognizes them not only as his sons, but as his rightful heirs, thus setting in motion the continuation of the monarchy.

Kings and princes, fathers and sons—these two complexes appear at the core of both epics. There is a ritual and mythological basis for these themes, and that is the cycle of the dying and reviving god. To the archaic mythological mind, the natural cycle of death and rebirth, as it is manifest in nature, is mirrored in the succession of rulers, who govern their subjects just as the gods govern the world. Just as the Mother Goddess gives birth to animals, vegetation and, by extension, man, the dying king gives way to his son, is renewed and reborn in his son, by way of the queen, understood as the Great Mother. In order to realize his rightful role, the prince must undergo a series of trials, or initiations, which are inevitably connected to the feminine generative function, and which comprise those rites which embody such a conception of rulership. The heroic epics, as the *Odyssey* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, reflect this ritual process in terms of the quest. As Gertrude Levy, author of *The Gate of Horn* and *The Sword from the Rock*, has observed, the epic is much more than a text for such ritual—it is "a literary entity in its own right" (1953:56). There is no need here to question whether the myth came first, or the ritual: the quest has drawn upon both equally.

> The quest for the lost has its origin in the conception of the dying god, derived from no single occurence, having its mythical source in the neolithic experience of the cyclic loss and renewal of earth's fertility, and its ritual origin in the primitive initiations of segregation and rebirth (1953:85).

As Levy notes, since the cycle of death and renewal is never-ending, the stories which mirror this mythological reality always contain "the seeds of further loss" (*Ibid.*). Whichever king has newly found his way, will himself be replaced in time, and by his own progeny. The kingly task is long and difficult, and literally never-ending, as is the mythic cycle.

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Perhaps the most essential component of this cycle is the need of the female element: without it, there can be no regenerative function. It is not surprising, therefore, that not only are both heroes in search of a reunion with their wives, but that their wanderings bring them into contact with many elements of the feminine sphere, and with many strange females. So, in fact, were the ancient initiation rituals constructed. The feminine is not only essential but changeable, and there are those aspects of her sphere which can be highly dangerous to the hero, the future king. Let us briefly review the adventures of both heroes, and observe evidence of this phenomenon, as well as parallels between the two epics in this regard. In both epics, the trials of the hero may be seen as a series of encounters with the forces of the earth, the feminine, in her light and dark manifestations, interspersed with mysterious encounters with equally mysteious creatures and personalities.

**A Short Reprise of the Stories:**

The *Odyssey* begins with a conference of the gods in which the goddess Athena petitions for her favorite, Odysseus. His divine enemy, Poseidon, has made the hero's return appear hopeless, by stranding him on Ogygia, the island of the nymph Calypso. She has kept him prisoner there for seven years in the caves of her retreat. Once the gods have decided to free him, however, she instructs him well on how to escape. After yet another confrontation with Poseidon's wrath, from which a sea nymph and Athena save him, Odysseus arrives on Scheria, the home of the Phaiakians. There he is rescued by a young woman, Nausicaa. She in turn instructs him as to how to win her mother's favor, and thereby her father's, so to win his passage home. While he is there, he is given the opportunity to tell his extraordinary story. After leaving Troy, he tells us, he and his men had stormed the land of the Kikones, by whom, because of their uncontrollable pillaging, he and his crew were badly beaten. On the island of the Lotus Eaters, his men were drugged by the lotus plant and had to be forcibly extricated in order to continue the voyage home. They neext confronted the Kyklopes (Cyclopes) the one called Polyphemos, son of Poseidon, was to be decisive for she future of Odysseus. Living in a cave, disdaining the conventions of the world, this giant did not welcome the hero, as is the civilized mode of greeting a guest, but began to eat Odysseus' men, In a vividly horrible scene, Odysseus and the few remaining members of his landing party gouged out

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the eye of the Kyklops, and escaped the cave by lashing themselves to the bottom of the giant's rams. Wise Odysseus, identifying himself to the monster of "*outis*," made the enemy a fool when the other Kyklopes came in answer to his cries. Who was harming him, they asked. Nodody, he replied. Only when safe aboard his ship once more did Odysseus identify himself to Polyphemos. This, of course, was a fatal mistake. The giant, knowing his attacker's name, could now curse him, and Poseidon heard and heeded this complaint.

The wind king was Odysseus' next host, and a generous one. Aeolus gave Odysseus a bull's hide stuffed with winds, to insure the hero a quick return home. But Odysseus' men, suspicious and jealous, tore it open while he was sleeping, and all are blown far out to sea. At last, they arrived at Aiaia, the island of the witch Circe. Odysseus killed a deer outside her home, and after much feasting, sent a contingent of his man to greet the witch. But she turned them all to swine. Only with divine help and a magic drug to resist her spells did Odysseus manage to meet with her and win his men back. After the spell was broken, Odysseus and his men spent a year with her, and then she told him what his next trial would be: a visit to the Underworld to see the old androgynous seer, Teiresias. This he accomplished, and returned triumphant to the witch. His last instructions from her concerned the perils of the Sirens, bewitching singers, and the horrors of Scylla and Charybdis, the ocean perils. All three of these were females, associated with the sea, and potentially fatal. He was forced to sacrifice a few man in order to save the rest, and having done so, had to forbid his surviving crew to eat the cattle of the Sun on the island where they came to rest. Again, having accomplished all that had been prescribed, the hero fell asleep, and his men sealed their doom by going against that last decree. So he came to be with Calypso, and then with the Phaiakians. The ship is subsequently wrecked; all but Odysseus are lost. Asleep again, he is returned by the Phaiakians to his homeland, and placed in a cove where a sacred cave is located.

Odysseus thus finds himself home, where Penelope has been stalling the suitors by promising towed one of them once she has completed work on a particular fabric (a shroud, she says, for her husband's father). In fact, she has been weaving it by day and unravelling it by night. But one of her serving girls has betrayed her, and she cannot hold the suitors

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off much longer. Odysseus reveals himself to her only after he has joined forces with his son, won the contest for her hand by the bending of the bow, and killen the suitors. And she, the ever wise and prudent one, tests him carefully. Before she knows his true indentity, while he is masquerading as a wanderer, she ascertains from him what Odysseus was wearing when she sent him off to Troy. She had given him a purple tunic, and a golden brooch inlaid with the image of a deer being pinned by a hunting dog. She further tests him by asking about their bed, which he had built into a tree trunk. When they are are actually reunited, the thing she wants most to know is of the task which lies ahead. As Teiresias had told him in the Underworld, his trials are not yet over. He must make an inland journey, among people who know not the sea. After his reunion with his wife, Odysseus goes out to the country to meet with his father, the elderly Laertes. There is an emotional recognition, and father and son and grandson together repel the onslaught of the suitors' relatives. Soon thereafter, the epic concludes. Thus, although the story itself does not end, there being future trials ahead, the king has taken up his role and has engaged the "real" dimension again. The fantastic element lives inside him, in the form of memory, and of that inland journey to come.

The injustice done to the *Odyssey* by such a capsule summary is surely great. Much more would be the injustice to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the longer work, in a similar effort. It will have to suffice simply to choose several important incidents in the story for consideration in our discussion of the two epics.

Rāma's story also begins with an assembly of the gods. His youth is marked by victories both military and intellectual. Rather than being gifted with many turns of mind as a defense against the threatening forces of the world, he is given divine weapons--perhaps a more concrete conceptualization of godly inspiration. He wins his wife by a contest with the bow--not his own, as in the *Odyssey*, but the god Śiva's. His exile is precipitated by the machinations of a deformed old hag, who finds the weakness in Queen Kaikeyī and convinces her to force the king, her husband, to exile Rāma and place her own son upon the throne. This is counter not only to Daśaratha's wishes, and those of the populus, but to the long tradition which holds that the eldest son is always the heir. Thus Rāma, accompanied by his temperamental and fiercely loyal brother, and his wife, born of a furrow, enters the wild. His wife propitiates

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the rivers as they cross. A party, led by Bharata, comes after them to attempt to convince Rama to return. The visiting multitude is wined and dined and variously entertained by a *ṛṣi*, a sage named Bharadvāja, in the forest, who by use of his powers creates a wealth of enchantments. Bharata and his men almost forget their purpose; only the arrival of morning reminds them to move on. Rāma, however, is strong in his purpose; he gives his brother Bharata his golden sandals to rule in his stead. So he spends over ten years in relative peace, winning battles against bothersome demons and spending time conversing with wise man. The time of his real trial approaches with the end of his appointed time away from home.

Again, the catalyst of the next major movement in the stoy is a deformed feminine figure, a widow and a rākṣasa. She is Śūrpaṇakhā, sister of the demon Rāvaṇa. She appears in the forest and is smitten by a desire for Rāma. He, out of naiveté or arrogance (we shall never know which), taunts her, and she is offended. Lakṣmaṇa, acting for his brother, further disfigures her, cutting off her ears and nose. The battle, then, is on. Rāma defeats the first onslaught of the demons with remarkble prowess. He is a good warrior. But the real test of his powers of discernment is yet to come...it arrives in the form of a marvelous deer. Sītā longs for this prize, and Rāma himself is transfixed by its beauty, although Lakṣmaṇa, ever watchful, is suspicious at once. Rāma ignores the advice of his brother. He pursues and finally kills the deer for Sītā, but in order to do so must leave her, and later Lakṣmaṇa leaves her to find Rāma, at her own insistence. Left by herself, Sītā falls prey to the demon Rāvaṇa and is abducted. The animals and plants, lakes and mountains of the forest watch this offense; the bird Jaṭāyu dies in his attempt to save her. The deers weep for her, and point the way south for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as they seek desperately to find her.

Rāma now embarks upon his real adventure. Taking on friends and allies from strange quarters, he contemplates his revenge. His sense of loss is complete. Championing Sugrīva's cause, he commits a questionable murder in order to gain a powerful ally. When Sugrīva loses himself in the celebration of his ascent to power, Rāma, too, appears lost. He spends the monsoon season in a cave, mourning and waiting for his time to come. In the text there is considerable ambiguity as to

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how long it takes Rāma to mobilize himself and his forces. It is Hanumān, son of the wind God Vāyu, who is primarily responsible for getting the action moving again. The relationship later to develop between this particular monkey and Sītā is evidently a deep one...there is an inherent trust between them. It may not prove surprising that Vāyu, father of this most singular of animal helpers, is pictured in Hindu iconography as riding a deer, another animal with whom Sītā has a special affinity.

Finally, monkeys and their companions, bears, are sent out in the four directions to seek the captured Sītā. Hanumān and his party are sent to the south, the most likely hideaway for the demon, and a location often identified in Hindu folklore with the "other world." Their time running out, exploring an endless series of deep woods and deeper caverns, this contigent is on the verge of despair. Hanumān leads them to a particular cave and, suddenly, they find themselves in another world. An aged ascetic woman, clothed in an antelope skin, is caretaker of this place, which belongs to the nymph Hemā. This woman feeds them, revies their spirits. In order to be able to emerge from this cave, she tells them finally, they must close their eyes. This done, she delivers them once more to the outside. They have spent a month in that strange place, created by the power of illusion (*māyā*), and their time for the search is up. It is at this crucial moment that the bird Sampāti arrives with the vital information about Sītā's whereabouts.

Hanumān crosses the distance over the sea to Laṅkā, fighting off three devouring female demons on the way with great ingenuity. It is he who finds Sītā, gives her Rāma's ring as a sign and takes a sign from her to him. Like Penelope, her time is running out; Rāvaṇa threatens to kill her if she will not submit to him. During Hanumān's solo confrontation with the rākṣasas, it is Sītā who propitiates the fire not to burn his tail, while Vāyu, the wind, also protects his son by blowing a cooling breeze.

Upon their return close to Rāma's camp with their good news, the group of monkeys is overcome with exuberance and causes havoc in a honey tree grove. They become drunk and must be entreated to continue on their way with their message for Rāma. Once this news has been delivered to Rāma, the battle is on. The hero must propitiate Sāgara,

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the lord of the waters, who is hesitant at first to cooperate. Rāma grows arrogant in his haste and must be constrained from causing great damage to the sea. This particular confrontation is reminiscent of Odysseus' thorny relations with Poseidon. One must, it appears, be on good terms with the sea. At last, however, the bridge to Laṅkā is built.

The battle of Laṅkā goes on for many chapters...it would be impractical to give a summary of them. Magical spells and equally magical characters are involved here, such as Kumbhakarṇa, Rāvaṇa's monstrous brother who sleep in a cave for months on end, and eats men. Hanumān is responsible for bearing magical herbs; these are inhaled by victims to effect cures. Sītā remains all this time as if on mourning: she is left by her captor in the Aśoka Grove, where she is taunted by most of the rākṣasa consorts, and admired by some. Her isolation is almost complete. At length, she is liberated, and is taken to Rāma for the long-awaited reunion. He, however, has taken on a strange attitude: she must undergo a trial by fire to prove her purity. Daśaratha, Rāma's dead father, makes a celestial appearance in celebration of his son's victory and his own resulting vindication from the onus of exiling Rāma. His life has been fulfilled the success of his son.

The time has come for the return to Ayodhyā. Rāma's return is magical and easy. The marvellous winged chariot which Rāvaṇa stole from Kubera now serves the prince. Back home, he is installed as king in the presence of his family and new-found friends. The gods rejoice. But the story could not have ended here, as we have noted above. Sītā must be banished, because of rumours in the kingdom, and must give birth to Rāma's twin sons in the forest retreat of the poet. Rāma must serve as king, with a golden statue of Sītā to serve ceremonially in her stead, much as his own golden sandal were used in his own absence by Bharata. Once Rāma has found his sons, Sītā returns to the earth, of which she has ever been part. Home, that is personal familial unity and peace, is not finally a result in Rāma's story. His destiny is not fulfilled by the victory he has won—the cycle of birth, death and rebirth is never-ending. So he is alienated from his sons until they themselves are ready to undertake kingship. To them belongs his own song, the gift of Vālmīki, both literally and figuratively. Finally he loses even his loyal brother Lakṣmaṇa, and death comes peacefully, as in the *Odyssey*, but there is no victory in it, unless we see, with modern Hindus, his identity as one with Viṣṇu.

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**On Questing: Major Themes:**

If, in the light of the above codensations, one attempts to formulate a pattern for the epic hero whose story has emerged from the mythological and ritualistic tradition of the dying and resurrecting king, certain key elements begin to emerge. We may finally begin to sense the answer to the question: what is it that these heroes are seeking in their unending quest ?

Joseph CAMPBELL, in *The Hero With a Thousand Faces*, provides what might be called a blueprint for heroic epic. Many of his assertions are relevent to this study, although his own interpretations may not satisfy at every turn. One important point of CAMPBELL's has to do with the enemy, that which must be defeated. He calls this the "tyrant-monster." "He is the monster avid for 'my and mine'" (1949:15). Into this category, clearly, we may place Rāvaṇa and most of his rākṣasa host. Although in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāvaṇa follows his own *dharma*, fulfills his own destiny, it is a path of selfishness that he represents. And as his appearance is obviously monstrous, so is his rule tyrannical. In the context of the *Odyssey* this role has many potential candidates–the Kyklops is only the most obvious. More subtle, in both epics, is the role of the lesser men, or, in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, lesser beings. Odysseus' own men, in their selfish whimsical behaviour, are ultimathly the cause of his ordeal: he seems always to fall asleep at the crucial moment, and the unrestrained force of his men invites disaster. Similarly, Rāma is often at the mercy of those who would help him most–for example, the volatile monkeys, ready to despair as often as they are to triumph. He is forced to retreat into his grief while Sugrīva indulges himself in kingly improprieties, and has constantly to beware, during battle, of the skittish nature of his animal allies. Even Bharata and his men can be enchanted away from their purpose, as at Bharadvāja's forest retreat, and Lakṣmaṇa's over-exuberance is often problematic; so it is hardly surprising to find Hanumān and troops cavorting in the honey-tree grove on their way back to report to the hero about Sītā's location. It seems the enemy is a complex idea ; a many-headed monster.

Another of CAMPBELL's points is that the journey of the hero into what often appears a world of fantasy is, in actuality, "a retreat from the world scene of secondary effects" (1949 : 17), a radical detachment

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or withdrawl. To be sure, both Rāma and Odysseus are for the greater part of their respective epics, away in very real sense from the ordinary world. As king, the matters with which they would ordinarily be concerned would consist of the ruling of subjects, the settiing of disputes, the entanglements of social and familial roles. From these things they are obviously quite separated. Further, they are separated from their wives. and Odysseus from his heir, from the everyday life with its cares and delusions. This is precisely what Odysseus long for in his exile, the human elements of life—and this is precisely what is denied. This other world, the world of the sea or that of the forest, has a wholly different set of demands, and operates under a radically different set of dynamics. Perhaps the world of fantasy, or of the fantastic (sea or forest) is to be seen as the *really* real world. The Hindus have a developed theory of *māyā* to deal with questions of reality and fantasy. The theory teaches (in part) that we are all actors in a dream of the god Viṣṇu, and the more tangled we are in the artifice of our existence, the farther we are from recognizing this truth. In this view, the ascetic life of the forest dweller is closer to truth simply by virtue of its distance from the conventions and entanglements of ordinary life That the fantastic dwells in the forest perhaps a statement about understanding the dream we are in. In the forest, away from the ordinary life, one may more easily see the dream for what it is.

In fact, there is no easy resolution to this complex of issues in either Hindu or Greek culture. If, as CAMPBELL states, there is a kind of "dying to the world," from which really creative acts result; if out of the "nonentity of the hero's existence in this other sphere a new man emerges" (1949:35-36). We must look closely at Rāma and Odysseus to see if some decisive change has occurred upon their return from exile. Certainly, Odysseus' time as "*outis*," nobody, qualifies as a kind of non-existence, as does his time spent in disguise. But we notice no obvious change in his character at the end of the epic. And Rāma is Rāma to the end—if he is anything else, it is Viṣṇu. What may help in this regard is the knowledge that oral tradition was never character-sensitive. We must not look for a transformation of personality in these works as we would, for example, in Dante. This answers, in part, the problem of the lack of a "new man" at the end of either epic. Moreover, there is no actual end to the trials of either hero—no finality, and so, perhaps, no final transformation. Further aspects of this question will emerge later in this discussion. It is

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in any case evident that CAMPBELL's expectation of some kind of transformation may prove problematic in the current context

CAMPBELL additionally proposes that among the perils faced by the hero on his quest are rivers and streams. This motif is abundantly obvious in both epics. Associated with bodies of water is the feminine principal. As we have seen, it is Sītā who propitiates the river deities as crossings are made. And it is the sea nymph who rescues Odysseus off Scheria, along with Athena. Odysseus' old enemy, Poseidon, is finally reconciled to the will of the goddess, just as Proteus is betrayed by his own daughter to Menelaos. The subterranean waters are also associated witb nymphs, and so the caves, of which there are many in both epics, are also representative of the feminine. A cave is like the womb of the earth, and, coupled with water imagery, is a double reminder of the female. Such caves can be traps, as Calypso's was, or they can be reviving and nurturing, as was Hemā's for the monkey host.[1] The feminine is also allied with trees, as for example Sītā in the Aśoka Grove. And enchantresses and witches provide ample challenge for both heroes. In the mythological context of the dying and resurrected king, all these aspects of the feminine sphere are tests but by the goddess to the initiate to justify his rebirth. In epic they are perils which must be overcome for survival and success So Odysseus faces the three forms of the female on the sea: the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis. So Hanumān, in Rāma's stead, must escape three female monsters during the sea-crossing to Laṅkā. It is interesting to note that Odysseus faces all his trials personally, while Rāma appears to have many surrogates: for example Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, Aṅgada, etc.

There is often, in heroic epic, a protective figure who provides the hero with supernatural aid. For Odysseus, that assistance is provided mostly bv Athena, although, as has been noted, he has many influential figures on his side (Hermes, Circe, Nausicaa and so forth) Rāma's aid comes from a profusion of sources: sages, monkeys, birds, many other forest animals—even a rākṣasa in the case of Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāvaṇa's brother. Perhaps Hanumān is the most significant of his helpers. This monkey, in particular, maintains a constant level of allegiance to Rāma and Sītā. His closest tie, as noted above, is to Sītā. Born of a furrow and thereby obviously of the earth, she is intimately associated with all

1. For further information, see, LEVY, 1953:57, 73, 78, and 1947 : 123, 218.

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animals, and also with the other three constituent elements of universe: air, water and fire. She is tried by fire, and can petition the god of fire, Agni, as in the case of Hanumān's tail. She is, of course, associated with water. And she is also associated with air, or wind. Thus she is naturally drawn to Hanumān, son of the god of wind, Vāyu, as he is to her. To this day, the woman of India claim Hanumān as a a special friend. And as Vāyu is portrayed with a deer as his vehicle, deer are also important for Sītā. It is the magical deer which signals the beginning of both her trial and Rāma's. The forest deer know, weeping, where she has gone. Odysseus, too, confronts deer as signals of the feminine—the buck he kills by Circe's abode, and the brooch he was given by Penelope, later used as a bond between them. There is much that could be said of the connection between woman and deer and the hero: evidently there is a strong symbolic connection not only in these two epics but in several mythological contexts. This matter will arise again in the psychological commentary below.

It should also be noted that both epics seem to require a visit to a world more radically removed from their heroes' home setting than either the forest or the sea: a descent of some sort is called for. In the *Odyssey* it is explicitly the world of the dead which must be approached: here Odysseus must learn his own future from the androgynous seer, must come to understand the bleakness of death from those he meets at the end of the earth. In Rāma's case it is not explicitly stated that he goes to the land of the dead, but his is a descent to the south, a locality of deep mysteries and the region traditionally associated with Yama, god of the dead. Laṅkā, the island in the south, is surely a radically diffetent world—a still further extension of the so-called "fantastic" realm which he entered when he began his forest retreat. In both cases, the most radical departure, carrying overtones of a descent, is in some ultimate sense the culmination and turning point of the hero's quest.

There are, in both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Odyssey*, reconciliations with the father and past king. Odysseus visits Laertes soon after his return to Ithaca; Rāma is visited by the dead Daśaratha after his victory at Laṅkā. This motif is perhaps the closest we come in either epic to the completion of the mythic cycle of the dying king. Of course, in the *Odyssey*, the hero is reunited with both his father and his son at the same time: a more satisfactory resolusion for the hero, to be sure. His

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trials are not over, but he achieves a kind of wholeness as part of the three-generation cycle. Rāma meets with his father before his sons are born. Finally, however, for both heroes, in the words of Joseph CAMPBELL:

> The happy ending is justly scorned as a misrepresentation, for the world, as we know it, as we have seen it, yields but one ending: death, disintegration, dismemberment, and the crucifixion of our heart with the passing of the forms that we have loved (1949: 26).

The cycle begins again. The Hindu mind approaches this inevitability armed with the knowledge of *māyā*, illusion, and the certainty that for liberation one must sacrifice all that is personally dear, for such accoutrements as family and home are snares along the path of truth. Additionally, the concept of *saṁsāra* teaches the relentless course of the cycle of life, death, rebirth. So it is that Rāma, to fulfill his role as king, must lose Sītā, as he does in the last book of the epic.

For the Greek mind, the problem is no less awesome, and just as irresolvable. As Circe says to Odysseus as he tries to find a way to outwit Scylla:

> Must you have battle in your heart forever ?
> The bloody toil of combat ? Old contender,
> Will you not yield to the immortal gods ?
> That nightmare connot die, being eternal,
> Evil itself-horror, and pain, and chaos.
> There is no fighting her...... (FITZGERALD:213).

Like Scylla, who will always take her toll as a price for passage, the mythic cycle of the hero's life cannot be successfully challenged.

Is this, then, the key to what the two heroes seek in their quest ? To do battle with the inevitable, by seeking some sort of mystical union ? CAMPBELL writes:

> The mystical marriage with the queen goddess of the world represents the hero's total mastery of life, for the woman is life, the hero its knower and master......(1949:120).

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Having realized this, "he knows that he and the father are one: he is in that father's place" (CAMPBELL, 1949:121). The cycle would then be complete. "The hegemony wrested from the enemy, the freedom won from the malice of the monster, the life energy released...is symbolized as a woman" (CAMPBELL, 1949:342). Victory, then is the woman. Having won her back, according to this configuration, the real marriage begins: Rāma's with Sītā, Odysseus' with Penelope. But as we have seen, this final resoultion is never reached in any permanent way in either epic. The hero, in fact, is doomed from the start. his victory short-lived—a rather discouraging conclusion. "The seeds of further loss," as LEVY said, are already sown. This complex of mythic motifs may be read in a psychological way: the outcome then, though still not conclusive, renders the quest more amenable to modern expectations.

**A Song of Psyche:**

It has been observed that in both epics a primary issue is the one of selfhood. The knowledge of self is what the hero seeks to define within the all-embracing wholeness of the epic's mythic vision of life (kingly life), death and rebirth: the continuation of the line. The hero retreats from the everyday world to another world, or another dimension of this world, in order to find, or rediscover, the woman who is the symbol of victory. This victory has to do with selfhood, and an understanding of life as it is defined by the epic, mythological vision of his time and place. What is revealed to him in the course of his quest is what he needs to know in order to replace, or in fact *be*, his father. And his trials are often described as partaking of the feminine sphere. In the psychology of C. G. JUNG, this quest is identical with what may be called a soul journey, an internal search whose goal is interior wholeness, psychological wholeness, unity with the depths of soul, symbolized by the woman, the feminine, what JUNG has called the *anima*.

The locus of the soul journey is the world of the collective unconsious, and it requires, as a prerequisite for entrance, that the individual relinquish his ego-centric life. This, as has been noted, both Odysseus and Rāma do. The ordinary wars and intrigues of court life are left behind, and the hero enters a magical, fantastic world which cannot be measured or described by ordinary means, and which they themselves do not control. What is sought may, in this context, be charaterized as follows:

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> ...the inward turning of the mind...should culminate in a realization of an identity *in esse* of the individual (microcosm) and the universe (macrocosm), which, when achieved would bring together in one order of act and realization the principles of eternity and time, sun and moon, male and female...(CAMPBELL, 164:163-164).

This world of fantasy, or of the fantastic, is the world of Psyche: fantasy emanates from the *anima*, the feminine. The feminine nature of the trials and images along the way "represent psychological adventures in the mythic realm of the archetypes of the soul, where the male must *experience* the import of the female before he can meet her perfectly in life" (Campbell, 1964:164).

The object of the quest, then, is a confrontation with those mythic forms, primarily female in nature, in order to emerge with the knowledge and power which those prototypical forms, or archetypes, have to offer. Only then can the hero fulfill the mystical marriage with the wife of his everyday world. And only then is he whole, that is, a unity of all that is universally male *and* universally female. What he will have discovered is greater than himself as an individual, for it partakes of the macrocosm, the larger reality, the archetypes of the collective unconscious.

This process is no easy task, as is abundantly clear to the hero. This inner world is fraught with dangers not only to life and limb, but to the individual psyche. The forms of the feminine are highly volatile, threatening one moment and benevolent the next. One may lose all one's companions, as Odysseus does—all those things which are of comfort. But what is lost is lost because it is an impediment to the psychic journey: tho adolescent, the infirm in purpose, that part of the self which would relax the search. As we have seen the crew of Odysseus and the monkey army of Rāma can be weak and prone to pleasure. One cannot afford in matters of this kind to fall asleep, relax the search or the distracted, for those weaker elements of the self will uudermine the quest. Odysseus falls asleep and loses first the gift of the wind god, then the cattle of the sun. Rāma retires to a cave during the monsoon, the monkey host goes wild with indulgenee in the honey grove, Bharata is enchanted by Bharadvāja's entertainments.

If one is to see this quest as an internal journey, culminating in a crucial experience of the depths of human selfhood, the turning point of

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each epic must be identified and examined for its viability in this regard. In the *Odyssey*, the hero's most difficult and, for him, most horrific encounter, is the visit to the land of the dead. Only with a drink of sacrificial blood can the shades of the dead speak to him. There is one figure he has been told to seek specifically: the old age Teiresias. This particular sage has special significance for Odysseus in his quest, for we know from Greek mythology that he has the quality of being androgynous, that is, he has been both male and female. He possesses in his being both worlds, the male and female (as well as the living and dead), and so his sagacity flows from a source crucial to the hero. It is Teiresias who can tell Odysseus the significance of his past, and the path of his future. From him comes the message that the road will not end in Ithaca, that the trial of the inland journey awaits him. This information is crucial not only for the hero, but for his wife Penelope, who, as we have seen, requests this news from her husband upon his return. It is a mystery she can well understand, being the human personificance of the faminine source. For Odysseus to realize its ultimate value, she must be a party to it: his experience on the soul journey has taught him this, and he now has the wisdom required to undertake the task. So Odysseus' most important encounter in his quest is the trip to what are, metaphorically, the deepest depth, the underworld.

Rāma's crucial journey is to the south. It is not necessary in the course of this aualysis to illustrate, in Hindu mythology, the identity of the southern regions with the land of the dead. It will suffice to indicate that the south is where the demons are and that the island to the south, Laṅkā, is clearly anoher world[2], one even further removed from Rāma's ordinary environment than the forest of his previous wanderings. It is significant in this context that the sage of the southern regions is Agastya, within whose territory Rāma establishes his hermitage, and the locale of the decisive encounter with Śūrpaṇakhā. Here it is that the final trial begins. Agastya, a singularly wise man, has the distinction of having been born from a jar. That is, his birth is asexual, and so he himself is of mysterious gender. This fact is particularly revealing when we observe that Rāma, like Odysseus, may be regarded as seeking unity with the *anima*. Equally revealing is that the first thirty-six chapters of the last book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which provide the mythological background for the characters and events of the war on Laṅkā, are narrated by this sage. Both Agastya

2. Compare, Coomaraswamy, 1978:532.

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and Teiresias act as informants, and their ambivalent sexual nature determines the critical importance of their guiding wisdom for the hero on his soul journey.

It is essential to note at this point that the particular mythological forms which both heroes encounter within the boundaries of the inner world can all, like Teiresias and Agastya, be read according to the guidelines of Jungian archetypes, although this cannot be fully undertaken within the limits of this essay. For example, Odysseus leaves Ithaca with a brooch engraved with image of a pinned deer; it is a deer he must kill before encountering Circe. Rāma, also, must kill a deer to initiate the final stage of his exile, the pursuit of Sītā. The deer, as we have noted, is the *vāhana*, or vehicle, of Vāyu, Hanumān's father. Clearly, the deer belongs to the sphere of the *anima*. Indeed, JUNG says that the stag signifies the soul (1970:5, 159). The *cervus fugitivus* (fugitive stag) may be used to signify the lapis, the elusive goal of alchemy, or, in this case, the quest. As soul, the deer in all the above cases can be associated with the *anima*, that is, the feminine source of soul—in our context, the woman sought or to be sought, and the key to the discovery of the self. To continue with this kind of analysis, one would note that Vāyu, as wind, partakes of the metaphor of breath, carrier of the spirit. As spirit and soul are mythologically affiliated, the relationship of Vāyu and deer, and, further of Sītā (*anima*) with the son of wind, takes on added importance. Spirit itself may be considered either neuter, as in Greek (*pneuma*), or masculine. Its relation with soul can vary, for while it is the partner of psyche, it can also control or repress her. The Jungian goal of individuation is better served by partnership between spirit and soul than by other means, particularly force. Rāvaṇa's attempts to force Sītā result in his own destruction; Odysseus' best relationship with the witch is one of partnership, not contention.

What must be left behind in the soul journey is ego, that which is preoccupied with the "my and mine": we may imagine this to be manifest in the characters of Rāvaṇa and Kyklops, though they may have other significance as well. Thus both individual's home and hearth, the sphere in which *he* controls people and events, and the individual psyche, the I-oriented personal subconscious, must be abandoned. Only then can a bridge be built to that collective soul realm in which are manifested the forms and images of the archetypes. Those figures which are explicitly feminine, such as Sītā and Circe, those which are affiliated with the

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feminine, such as Hanumān and caves, and those figures and images which are phantasms of the soul, and thereby ontologically feminine, such as Agastya and Teiresias, serve to guide the hero towards the goal themselves. Victory *is* the woman, the experience of the *anima* in its own world. Only after such experience can the hero truly be himself, and return to *his* world.

Odysseus, of course, returns to his wife, and can enjoy the luxury of her company during the task to come. This is something of a victory, although not a complete one. The return of the hero from his exploration of the inner world is not wholly triumphant, for the quest for the soul is never complete. Rāma's return is, by all appearances, a total triumph, but tragedy lies ahead. He must sacrifice his wife, having just won her. How may this be explained in psychological terms? Rāma's successful encounter with the depths of the soul may be said to render him whole. In providing the actual goal for Rāma's descent into the soul realm, Sītā has accomplished her purpose. For the purposes of the inner search, once she has been won, she has fulfilled her function. Rāma's personal, that is to say his ego, self may require her continued presence in his life; the larger realm of his inner self does not. That he can serve his outer role as king with a golden image of her by his side, that in fact the outer world requires him to sacrifice her to maintain his kingly integrity, may be seen metaphorically as the inner world now asserting dominance over his ego. Having experienced the world of psyche he carries it within him in the active form of memory, which is a function of imagination and therefore an active representation of psyche in his life. The archetypal feminine has taken over Sītā's role. Sītā has provided him with his quest, the goal of which was her essence, she has also provided him with sons. So it is that she, as personification of *anima*, can be banished. Once he has been united with his sons: she can truly return to the earth, the depths, whose representative she has been all along. She is no longer needed, and he must come to recognize this truth.

**The Importance of Singing It:**

Within or without the Jungian framework, the story of the quest is a story of the search for the self. It has been observed that neither Odysseus nor Rāma appears to undergo a transformation of personality in the context of their respective epics. In this connection, the fact that

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the medium of oral tradition was not character-sensitive has been cited to explain, in part, the lack of a phenomenon which one might expect if the foregoing analysis is to ring true. But perhaps these epics do provide a mechanism by which the realization of selfhood can be communicated without an explicit description of a change in character. Within oral tradition the telling of the story is a magical thing, inspired by the gods. It may be that the telling of the epic itself, or a part thereof, is the key we seek to a realization on the part of the hero of the significance and fulfilment of his quest.

Rāma and Odysseus each hear the story of their recent past sung to them within the context of their respective epics at a point near the conclusion of their other-worldly trials. For Rāma, this recital occurs when he has already arrived home, when, as indicated in the last book, Sītā has been banished and Rāma is ruling, somewhat unhappily, over Ayodhyā. For Odysseus, the journey has not yet ended, but Ithaca is almost in sight...he is in Phaiakia, and his hosts will send him home to face the unfinished business of reclaiming his wife and throne. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the singers of the story are unknown to Rāma and his company: discovery of their identity will be the catalyst for ending the larger story. In the *Odyssey*, the hero is the one who is unidentified. The singer is first a bard, and then Odysseus himself; revelation of his name will make his return to Ithaca imminent and so bring about the resolution of the journey to the fantatic dimension. In both cases, the performance of the story within the story is a decisive moment, and takes place in settings rich with question of identity, the named and the unnamed, those who are recognized and not recognized.

The turning point which marks the return of the hero to the mundane world is mirrored in the personal reaction each recitation brings to each hero. Both are struck with awe as they witness the telling. Odysseus is overcome by grief:

> And Odysseus
> let the bright molten tears run down his cheeks
> weeping the way a wife mourns for her lord
> on the lost field where he has gone down fighting
> the day of wrath that came upon his children. (Fitzgerald: 140-141).

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Rāma asks, in wonder, who the singers of the extraordinary song might be, eager to hear the whole of it. This particular desire on the part of the two heroes to hear about themselves is an interesting facet of the heroic personality as they represent it: can this be vanity; are they urging the story in the larger story on, as any good audience would; or is there a large issue at stake? Rāma hears his own story and in so doing discovers his role as father; discovers, or rediscovers, himself. He is also forced to confront the issue of Sītā, and in the process of the resolution of this issue she returns to the earth. Rāma settles back into the kingship with his new-found sons, and, finally, goes to his death. He is reconciled to this world, the one in which he must rule and die. What is crucial on the personal level, finding identity and sons, and what is crucial in the mythological/ritualistic context, the return to ascend the throne in the mundane world, go hand in hand, leading to the end of the epic.

Finally, in the last chapters of the Uttara-kāṇḍa, Rāma "returns" to heaven. Here, the belief in Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu is fully manifest. It is pointless to speculate upon what the ending might have looked like before the advent of this belief. The conventions of Rāma's society as well as those of the myth of the king would have required him, in any case, to relinquish his role to his sons. The glory he had attained by successfully completing his quest was given outward form by the cultivation of his own myth. May we not treat metaphorically what the cult of Rāma has treated as fact? He who achieves the quest become as a God. The cult, taking its cue from the last chapters of the epic, has reaffirmed the viability of the mythic ideal.

Odysseus hears his own story and is revealed to his hosts as himself, by way of his very emotional reaction. He then takes up the story himself, becoming a weaver of his own tale—he has often been described as a story-teller, and here he sings his own true song. This cathartic moment for him and for the epic signals his return to human endeavour, the beginning of his actual return to Ithaca and the very human last half of the epic. Whereas all is strange and fantastic in the first twelve books of the *Odyssey*, the procedure of regaining wife and throne in the latter part of the epic is conducted on a relatively clear-cut level, however rich with mythological themes. The critical moment in Odysseus' personal development, as Rāma's, is closely tied to the revelation of a name which is necessary for the resolution of the quest, in so far as resolution is to be achieved.

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For Odysseus it is his own name which must be known and recognized; for Rāma, it is his sons, and his own self as it is related to them, that must be revealed. Thus the poets' recitals in both these situations are pivotal.

In conclusion, it may be observed that in both the *Odyssey* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* the potent (inspired) figure of the oral poet makes an appearance at a decisive moment in the action. Performing within the story of the epic, the poet (or poets) acts as a catalyst in the trial of naming and recognition which is one of the last trials either hero has to overcome. The poet effects this by doing what he does best: holding up the mirror by singing his song. Having been aided thus by the poet in accepting a highly significant truth, Rāma and Odysseus may complete their journeys to the best of their abilities. The poet is a vehicle of this process, guided in this, as he is in creation of epics, by a higher power, the hightened awareness of poets and seers. Through the performance of the story within the story, the hero is able to reconcile himself, recognize his self, and undertake those matters at hand which characterize his kingly role as best he can. If a signal of the hero's transformation is what is sought, it may be seen to lie in the singing of the song within the song. Thus the song of that other world, having been sung, gives way to the song of the return and reintegration of the hero, and, finally, his death.

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Peter SCHREINER, Tübingen:

# BHAKTI IN THE *VIṢṆU-PURĀṆA*

It was my great pleasure to enjoy the honoured Prof. A. N. JANI's friendly hospitality, his open-hearted cooperation and learned advice during my stay in Baroda in 1979 while doing research on the *stutis* of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (*ViP*). The following pages are a small excerpt in slightly modified form from this as yet unpublished study which was submitted as *Habilitationsschrift* at the University of Tübingen in 1980; I offer them as a modest token of my grateful respect

One aspect of my research of the *ViP* was to prepare a word-index to the complete text of this *Purāṇa* with the help of the computer. Such an index facilitates the study of central terms and concepts of the text as it allows us to locate and compare all the relevant passages related to one concept; It goes without saying that the study of the occurrences of one word in a text constitutes only one among several steps in the analysis of a text. Textual criticism, stylistic analysis, comparison with other texts are some of the aspects which would have to be incorporated into a more complete exegesis of a text.

Within the framework of a study of those episodes of the *ViP* which contain *stutis* it is above all the Prahlāda-episode which draws attention to the notion of *bhakti* in the *ViP*. Paul HACKER, who analyzed this episode in his masterly study, "*Prahlāda: Werden und Wandlungen einer Idealgestalt*" (Mainz, 1960), had claimed that *bhakti* is "the real religious topic" of the Prahlāda-episode of the *ViP* (*Prahlāda*, p.76). This observation gains comprehensive validity when linked with HACKER's further assumption that most or all of the theological, theoretical thoughts and concepts of this episode are shared by other passages of the *ViP* and by many of the whole Viṣṇuitic *Purāṇa*-literature (*Prahlāda*, p. 79). Thus it seems justified to check this claim by comparing what the *ViP* has to say about *bhakti*.

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At first sight one is struck by the uneven distribution of references to *bhakti* throughout the *ViP*, viz., grouped according to books:

| I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19 (-1) | 4 | 19 (-2) | 3 | 6 (-2) | 3 |

From among the passages in book I, 13 belong to the Prahlāda-episode, from among those of book III, 10 occur in the context of the *śrāddha*-ritual, 6 occur in the so-called *Yamagītā*.

These numbers refer to the words *bhakti* and *bhakta* and their respective grammatical forms,[1] which I translate by "devotion", respectively "devoted". Other derivations from the root *bhaj*-do not belong to the semantic field of *bhakti*, as far as I can see.

The occurrences[2] of *bhakti*/*bhakta* may be divided into two groups, according to their context; I choose as my criterion whether the use of the concept of *bhakti* betrays any reference to Viṣṇu or to a theological context. Such a grouping is meant as an analytical device on the basis of what is expressed in the text. It does not deny (but also cannot consider) that something may have been assumed without being expressed.

1. In the first group of passages *bhakta*/*bhakti* does not refer to any Viṣṇuitic-theological content but characterizes a person in general, more particularly the attitude somebody has towards somebody else, or the way in which he acts:

2.6.11 Pronounces punsihment in hell for him who deserts his friend or comrade (*bhakti*).

3.14.11 Aila (i. e., Purūravas) is called "devoted to his father" (or to the forefathers,—context of *śrāddha* (cf. below)—, *pitṛbhakta*).

1. I. e., 54 ocerrences, 16 times *bhakta*, 38 times *bhakti*, including 5 from other semantic fields: Thrice (once among them in the Prahlāda-episode) *bhakta* means the food of which one partakes, and this has nothing to do with *bhakti* (1. 17.64; 3 13.11; 3. 11.81). Similarly in the compound *bhakticcheda* (5. 20 8 and 14—sign drawn on forehead?)—the semantic relation to *bhakti* is hardly relevant.

2. All references are to the Venkateswara Edition (Bombay, 1910). In pre enting the material I shall paraphrase or translate all occurences to iilustrate the specific use of the words analyzed.

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4.4.24 Aṁśumān, humble in (or by) devotion (*bhaktinamra*), approaches Kapila.

3.5.11 Yājñavalkya defends his action by claiming that he acted out of devotion (*bhaktyā*—to his teacher ?).

2.15.36 Ṛbhu, when leaving, is bidden farewell with highest devotion (*parayā bhaktyā*).

3.14.20 "Highest devotion" (*paramā bhakti*) is said to be among those attitudes which grant to a man what he wishes for.

It is not always possible to decide, whether *bhakti* describes an attitude between people or an attitude with which some action, often a religious, ritual act, is to be performed. Thus, in the context of *śrāddha*:

3.14.24 The forefathers wish for a descendant who with thoughts humble in devotion (*bhaktinamradhīḥ*) feeds brahmins (on the occasion of the *śrāddha*). In this context *bhakti* may extend to the invited brahmins, to the forefathers or it describes the devotion which accompanies the performance of ritual duties. Similarly in the following examples:

3.14.27 The forefathers wish for a descendant who offers water "humble in devotion" (*bhaktinamra*).

3.14.30 During *śrāddha* one should pray that the forefathers "may be satisfied by my devotion" (*tṛpyantu bhaktyā*), if one is too poor to offer anything else. Note the connection of *bhakti* on one side, satisfaction on the other side of the relationship—a trait which recurs in the theological contexts.

3.15.16 The *śrāddha* directed to the all-gods (*vaiśvadaivikam*) is to be carried out "endowed with devotion" (*bhakti-sampanna*).

3.15.30 During *śrāddha* one should feed brahmins out of devotion or with devotion (*bhaktitaḥ*).

3.15.35 By means of what is recited with devotion during the *śrāddha* the forefathers are supposed to attain satisfaction.

3.15.44 During *śrāddha* one should give *dakṣiṇā* with devotion (*bhaktyā*).

3.18.56 Śatadhanu and his wife rever Viṣṇu with sacrifices, prayers (*japa*), alms and fasting, which they practice daily out of or

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with devotion (*bhaktitaḥ*). Here a Viṣṇuitic context is obvious, while the attitude of *bhakti* seems to refer to the mentioned practices rather than to Viṣṇu.

2.8.109 Dhruva carries Gaṅgā day and night with devotion on his head.

One would have to include in this group those passages which mention *bhakti* in a so-called *phala-śruti* or with reference to a particular text or passage, since *bhakti* is again the attitude by which some religious act is motivated or accompanied.

2.16.25 Narrating or listening to the episode of Bharata "bound by devotion" (*bhaktiyukta*) will prevent error about the Self.

6.8.5 Maitreya had listened to everything (i. e., the whole of the *ViP*) with devotion (*bhaktyā*) and has nothing else to ask.

6.8.52 Whoever listens to the *ViP* with devotion (*bhaktyā*) is freed from sins.

4.24.139 Listening to the genealogy of Manu with devotion (*bhaktyā*) destroys all sins.

2. This leaves (for our second group) altogether 30 passages in which *bhakti* occurs in Viṣṇuitic and/or theological context. By 'theological' I mean to say that *bhakti* in such contexts describes or names an attitude towards God (Viṣṇu). 13 of those 30 occurrences belong to the Prahlāda-episode:

1.15.143 The narrator characterizes Prahlāda as one "who teaches highest devotion to Janārdana" (*paramāṁ bhaktim uvāca*).

1.16.5 Maitreya wishes to hear Prahlāda's story whose power as one endowed with devotion to Viṣṇu is unique (*viṣṇor bhaktimataḥ*).

1.16.14 Maitreya asks about the reasons for Prahlāda who is devoted to Viṣṇu (*viṣṇubhakta*) being tormented.

1.19.9 Prahlāda explains to his father that the learned should practice constant devotion (*bhaktir avyabhicāriṇī*), since Hari is identical with all beings (1.19.9b=1.20.26d !).

1.19.13 The earth gently receives Prahlāda who is precipitating downwards—since he is "bound in devotion" (*bhaktiyuktam*).

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1.20.17 Bhagavān is gracious to Prahlāda who practiced constant devotion (*bhaktim avyabhpicāriṇīm*, cf 1.19.9 and 1.20.26).[3]

1.20.18 Prahlāda wishes for unshakeable devotion to God in all his existences (*acyutā bhaktiḥ*).

1.20.20 Bhagavān grants Prahlāda that his devotion to Him will last.

1.20.24 Prahlāda wishes that his father may be redeemed from the sin of his hatred against Prahlādawho has devotion to God (*tvayi bhaktivataḥ*).

1.20.26 Prahlāda wishes for constant *bhakti* (cf. 1.19.9; 1.20.17):

1.20.27 For, all human ends (*puruṣārtha*) are obtained by him who has firm devotion (*sthirā bhaktiḥ*) to God who is the root of all worlds.

1.20.28 God promises to Prahlāda *nirvāṇa*, since his mind endowed with devotion remains fixed on Him without stirring (*niścalaṁ ceto mayi bhaktisamanvitam*).

1.20.35 The narrator characterizes Prahlāda as "devoted to God" (*bhagavadbhakta*).

For the concept of *bhakti* we may conclude that it epitomizes the realization of what Prahlāda teaches. For the structure and history of the text of this episode, however, it is important that except for 1.19.9 the concept does not occur in those passages which contain Prahlāda's teaching, nor in Prahlāda's hymns but only in the introductions and those parts of the text which relate to the fulfilment of Prahlāda's wishes by Bhagavān. Generally it is not Prahlāda who teaches *bhakti*, but it seems to be the redactor who insists on calling Prahlāda's attitude and teachings "*bhakti*" and who considers somebody who proclaim such teachings a "*bhakta*". The reaction of hatred provoked by *bhakti* is considered incomprehensible and sinful (1.16.14 and 1.20.24). *Bhakti* appears to be that attitude towards God and fellow beings which is theologically founded by the teaching that God is identical with all and is the origin of all, However. it is possible to lose this attitude and thus one has to be careful about its constancy and steadiness. This concept of *bhakti*

3. *Cf.* also *BhG* 13.10.

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means, to fill one's mind with the thought of God and thus to gain identity with him. Such an attitude entails the fulfilment of all wishes, including salvation; and it can be considered as its precondition (cf. the notion of *prabhāva*, 1.16.5).

When compared to this concept of *bhakti* the occurrences in the so-called *Yāmagītā* offer a more practice-oriented description of *bhakti*; the whole passage is clearly separated from its context by its metre and the more interlocked narrative structure.

3.7.19 Kāliṅga asks Yama to tell the characteristics of one devoted to Hari (*Harer bhaktaḥ*).

3.7.20 Yama explains that a Viṣṇubhakta can be recognized because he does not deviate from the *dharma* of his caste, considers friends and enemies the same (*samamatiḥ*), does not take away anything, does not hurt anybody (or kill anybody) and has a pure mind (*sitamanas*);

3.7.21 his soul (*ātmā*) is not polluted by the filth of the Kaliyuga, his mind is pure (*vimalamatiḥ*), he has in his mind been made identical with Janārdana,—such a man is to be considered an eminent devotee of Hari.

3.7.22 He looks at another's property as if it were straw, his mind is exclusively directed towards God—such a man is to be considered as Viṣṇu's devotee.

3.7.30 He, however, who thirsts after profit even in regard to his relatives and friends, who is of mean conduct, such a man is not a devotee of God.

3.7.91 He, whose thinking is improper, who pursues bad activities, associates with people who are not *ārya* and is thus enmeshed in the bonds of sin—such a man is like an animal, but he is not one devoted to Vāsudeva.

These six occurrences of *bhakta* specify that *bhakti* is connected with particular ethical conduct (caste, property, conduct, social contacts) as well as with constant mental visualization of God's appearance (verse 27), with His presence in the heart of the devotee. This theologically founded *bhakti* may thus be distinguished from the ritually oriented *bhakti* mentioned in those passages which were subsumed under the first group. The

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importance of *bhakti* in the *śrāddha*-ritual and the emphasis on caste and community in the *Yamagītā* might, however, establish a link between these two sections of the *ViP*.

Verse 33 of the *Yamagītā* mentions a prayer (a request for protection preceded by a series of vocatives) which is to be uttered at the hour of death and which allows Yama's messengers to recognize Viṣṇu's devotee. This practice of calling upon God, of verbally recalling Him and His attributes is one element that the *Yamagītā* shares with a few other passages of the *ViP* which connect *bhakti* with praising or praying to God:

1.4.11 "The earth praised after having bowed down, humble in devotion,"—This is the introduction to a hymn of praise by the Earth in the Varāha-episode. Bhakti is considered a presupposition for praising. Since the attitude of *bhakti* may here be directed to the God as well as to the activity of praising one should compare this passage with those mentioned under group 1. Similarly:

1.12.49 "My mind filled with devotion, oh highest Lord, is directed towards your feet in order to praise. Give me insight!" —This is Dhruva's request to Viṣṇu who appeared before him.

*Bhakti* qualifies the praiser, but in combination with the act of praising is deemed to deserve God's grace; this grace, mostly expressed by a boon, depends on God being satisfied and pleased; *bhakti* and praising are means to this end:

1.9.57 "Viṣṇu, be gracious! Show yourself to us who are devoted to you!"—This is the last verse of Brahmā's *stuti* in the Amṛtamanthana-episode.

1.14.46 "When the Pracetasaḥ saw Him who is mounted on Garuḍa they bowed down their heads which were lowered by the burden of devotion (*bhaktibhārāvanamita*)—and God grants them a boon.

1.15.61 Māriṣā (while living as a queen in one of her previous existences) satisfies Viṣṇu out of devotion or by devotion (*bhaktitaḥ*).

5.30.6 In Aditi's *stuti* to Kṛṣṇa she says among others: "Honour to you, oh Lotos-eyed, who grants freedom from fear to those who are devoted to You!"

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Praising God and mentioning His names have comparable effects, and thus two more passages should be counted as belonging to this group:

4.15.17 If Śiśupāla, who hates Viṣṇu, has been received into God because he thought of and constantly uttered His names (while abusing Him), what reward will await those who are His proper devotees ? ! (*samyag bhaktimatām*).

6.8.20 While describing Viṣṇu, Parāśara mentions that the devoted utterance of His names (or His name) destroys all sins.

Twice in the Akrūra-episode (of the Kṛṣṇacaritam) *bhakti* is mentioned as accompanying the contemplation of Kṛṣna. A similar visualization of or actual encounter with the divine figure is what the listing of God's attributes and epithets in *stutis* is supposed to provoke !

5.17.18 Akrūra meditates on Kṛṣna with a mind "humble in devotion" (*bhaktinamra*).

5,17.33 Akrūra approaches Kṛṣna in person, his mind or thinking "humbled in devotion" (*bhaktivinamracetas*).

In these contexts *bhakti* is directed towards God and it conditions a relationship to God which operates mainly through intensive thinking of God; this in turn leads to verbally expressing what is thought of by uttering hymns of praise or the names of God, i. e., by describing Him of whom one is thinking. This relationship is not completely one-sided, as is obvious from the fact that thinking of God and praising God will result in God's appearance before the devotee and in His granting a boon, i. e., God acts in favour of and for the profit of his devotees. This mutuality of a relationship based on *bhakti* is expressed by Kṛṣna:

5.37.36 Kṛṣna promises to reside in his house in Dvārakā even after the destruction of the city out of the desise to benefit His devotees (*bhaktānāṁ hitakāmyayā*).

When reviewing this—as far as I can see—complete list of occurrences of *bhakti* or *bhakta* in the *ViP* it becomes obvious that *bhakti* as word and as concept is not characteristic for the content of the whole *ViP*. This impression confirms that the *ViP* may be considered as a composition in which passages taken from traditional lore retain their identity even

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as far as language is concerned. The *ViP* is no new formulation of traditional topics (as e. g. the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*); however, it is also not a thoughtless, mechanical conglomeration of anonymous texts.

The distribution of occurrences of "*bhakti/bhakta*" in the *ViP* allows to specify HACKER's statement quoted In the beginning: If the grouping of occurrences of *bhakti* on the basis of the link constituted by this concept and by the common reference to a Viṣṇuitic milieu is made the hypothetical basis of a grouping of episodes and passages of the *ViP* which might belong together, one would have to group together the Varāha-episode, the Amṛtamanthana-episode, the Dhruva-episode, the Pracetasa/Kaṇḍu-episode and the Prahlāda-episode and include also the Akrūra-episode and the encounter of Kṛṣṇa and Aditi from the *Kṛṣṇacaritam* (all of which episodes, by the way, also contain hymns of praise !), along with the *Yamagītā* and the concluding passages of book 6 which are uttered by the narrator of the whole *ViP* and thus belong to an outer redactional framework of the text. To this framework one may have to count the *phalaśruti* and Maitreya's questions (1.16.5 and 14), further, on the basis of similarity of content perhaps even the Śiśupāla-episode.[4] The emphasis on the constancy, firmness, unshakeability of *bhakti*, however, (*sthirā* 1.20.27; *avyabhicāriṇī* 1.19.9; 1.20.17; 1.20.26; *acyutā* 1.20.18, cf. 1.20.28) is a peculiarity of the Prahlāda-episode.

It seems to me that this emphasis on steadiness or *bhakti* as a mental attitude brings *bhakti* close to a yogic state of mind: Yogic mental absorption presupposes that the activity of the senses be stopped (as illustrated by the Dhruva-episode), and it aims at raising one's conscious identity to ever higher and ever less differentiated levels of being. In the Viṣṇuitic context the highest goal is attained when one has gained identity with Viṣṇu who is the spiritual "substance" which underlies everything and who thus is everything. Since the motifs of Viṣṇu's all-ness and of the yogic mode of consciousness and cognition are frequently mentioned in the *ViP* even apart from the concept of *bhakti*, one may suspect that *bhakti* is one of

4. The chapters on *śrāddha* in book 3 share with these passages not only the *bhakti* (though without explicit Viṣṇuitic reference), but atleast in regard to the Akrūra-episode and the *Yamagītā*—also the longer metre in some passages. Whether the expression *bhaktinamra* (5. 17.8; 3. 14.24, 27; 4. 4 24; 1.4.11), constitutes a relevant link would have to be examined on the basis of a comparison of vocabulary and style of other text.

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those concepts which are used to adapt and interpret a yogic sprirituality which—when interpreted historically would thus represent an older layer than the layer characterized by the concept of *bhakti*. A trace of the historical processes involved may be found in the possibility to differentiate between Prahlāda's teachings and the use of the term *bhakti* in the episodic redactional context of this teaching.[5]

However, only for the Prāhlāda-episode is it justified to characterize the concept of *bhakti* as central to the message of the text. The *Yamagītā* only elaborates what is taught in the Prahlāda-episode, while the practical conduct taught by Yama (*samadarśana*, *varṇadharma*, etc.) connects the *Yamagītā* chapter 3.8. For all other passages mentioned *bhakti* is not central but is rather an accompanying phenomenon or a generally accepted presupposition of a relation to God which in the *ViP* is more poignantly expressed by what is colled *ārādhana* and *stuti*.

5. *Cf.* Hacker's observation: "Bhakti here [i. e., in the Prahlāda-episode of the *ViP*] is not really emotional; on the one hand, *viz.*, in the description of the ideal character of Prahlāda, it is primarily intellectual, but also ethical; on the other hand, according to the poet's temper and in keeping with the style of the whole legend, it is of urging vehemence, expressing itself not only in pathetic praises of God but also in the invention of excited and exciting situations." (*Prahlāda*, p 77).

In my opinihn Hacker is, however, reading a later notion of *bhakti* into the *ViP* when he specifies ethical aspect of *bhakti* by writing: "Thus ethics [...] postulates that one should have constant love, Bhakti, to all beings" (p. 88). This *bhakti* is not "love", but (and I think in accordance with the coneept of *bhakti* in the *BhG*) participation in the real identity of all beings which has to be recognized as God who is that "snbstance" of which everything individual, particular is "from" (*rūpa*).

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B. DATTA, Baroda:

# THE MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE ON SOME OF THE IMPORTANT INTERPOLATED PASSAGES IN THE *VIṢṆU PURĀṆA*

Several authors, while basing their arguments on internal evidence, have attributed the text of *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (=*ViP*) to different dates. But the internal evidence responsible for a number of diverse opinions could not in the past be subjected to any precise examination, for there were no means to verify the exact nature of the text-tradition on which the arguments for dating the text were based.

Now since the critical edition of this text is under preparation, we have with us the representative ms. material at hand. It is, therefore, proposed that some of these arguments be better studied afresh so as to determine their exact nature as also to draw the attention of scholars to some of the other chief interpolations of the text.

R. C. HAZRA has been the chief among such scholars who have worked on the *Purāṇas* and he has dated this *Purāṇa* to the 1st century to 350 A. D.[1] He has proved right in assuming that the Śākta element introduced in the *ViP* in the form of praise of Śrī Lakṣmī as a Śakti of Viṣṇu, is perhaps an interpolation to the original text of *ViP*. The praise of Śrī Lakṣmī happens to be an attempt of a latter enthusiast who introduced it in the text for sectarian reasons, by way of a digression after the chapter had been borrowed by the *Padma Purāṇa* (*Sṛṣṭi-Khaṇḍa*), for the same (the praise of Lakṣmī) is absent in the latter (i. e., the borro-

1. *Cf.* HAZRA, R. C., *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 24 f., and also "The Date of *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*," *ABORI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265-75.

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wer).[2] It was due to this apparent absence in the *Padma Purāṇa* that HAZRA was able to opine firmly that the passage was surely a later interpolation in the text of the *ViP*. However, his conclusions were chiefly inferential in character.

The mss. evidence now on this issue also points out that perhaps this Śākta element was added later than the borrowal of this chapter by the *Padma Purāṇa*, because a good number of verses comprising of the praise of Śrī Lakṣmī has been found missing in Ms. (D4)[3].

The Ms, (D4) normally agrees with the Telugu (T1) ms. and quite often with the Grantha mss. and the Malayalam (M1), i, e., all the scripts representing the southern group. It is comparatively free from interpolated passages. When compared with other mss., the readings of this ms. tend to preserve older form of the text. This fact is further corroborated by an interesting lacuna, in the same context further shown by the same ms.,

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2. HAZRA, R. C., *Studies in Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 21.

3. (The sigilla of mss. in this article refer only to their numbers in the collation stage). The ms. no. 6477 of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, bears the sigillium D4 with collation stage. The ms. (D4) does not record the following verses:

शशांक: श्रीधर: कान्तिः श्रीस्तथैवानपायिनी ।
धृतिर्ल्लक्ष्मीर्जगच्चेष्टा वायुः सर्वत्रगो हरिः ।।१.८.२५।।

जलधिर्द्विज गोविन्दस्तद्वेला श्रीमहामुने ।
लक्ष्मीस्वरूपमिन्द्राणी देवेन्द्रो मधुसूदनः ।।२६।।
यमश्चक्रधरस्साक्षाद्धूमोर्णा कमलालया ।
ऋद्धिः श्रीः श्रीधरो देवः स्वयमेव धनेश्वरः ।।२७।।
गौरीर्लक्ष्मीर्महाभागा केशवो वरुणः स्वयम् ।
श्रीर्देवसेना विप्रेन्द्र देवसेनापतिर्हरिः ।।२८।।
अवष्टम्भो गदापाणिः शक्तिर्लक्ष्मी द्विजोत्तम ।
काष्ठा लक्ष्मीर्निमेषोऽसौ मुहूर्त्तोऽसौ कलात्वियम् ।।२९।।
ज्योत्स्ना लक्ष्मीः प्रदीपोऽसौ सर्वः सर्वेश्वरो हरिः ।
लता भूता जगन्माता श्रीर्विष्णुर्द्रुमसंज्ञितः ।।३०।।

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consisting of the two verses[4] comparing Lakṣmī to Svahā, Gaurī and Prabhā, while comparing Lord Viṣṇu respectively to Agni, Śaṁkara and Sūrya. The lacuna in this ms. (D4) can be explained by the fact that it appears to be a representative of an intermediary stage between the *ViP* text (pre-borrowal stage) being completely free from the Śākta element, and the text as represented today and evinced by almost all the mss. of the two chief groups of the text (recensions).[5] If the fact is accepted then the ms. (D4) seems to be the representative of the text anterior to the one presented by the mss. of the two chief groups of the text (recensions) today because of its representing perhaps the intermediary stage as stated above.

However, being a representative of an older text tradition does not necessarily guarantee that all the omissions of this ms. (D4) are genuine ones and only speak of later interpolation to the text. Thus even though the lacuna in the text of D4 alone recording the birth of Pāṇḍavas[6], perhaps speaks of its being an interpolation on account of the fact that it is the complete accouut that is missing, yet another lacuna[7] of this ms. alone beginning from :

4. *Cf. ViP*. I.8.22-23:

   सामस्वरूपी भगवानुद्गीतिः कमलालया ।
   स्वाहालक्ष्मीर्जगन्नाथो वासुदेवो हुताशनः ।।२२।।
   शंकरो भगवाञ्छौरिर्गौरी लक्ष्मीर्द्विजोत्तम ।
   मैत्रेय केशवः सूर्यस्तत्प्रभा कमलालया ।।२३।।

5. There are two recensions of this text, the printed edition of the text commented upon by Ratnagarba Bhattācārya may be taken to be fairly a representative of the Northern recension (comparatively a smaller text) and the printed edition of the text commented upon by Viṣṇucitta and Śrīdhara of the southern recension (comparatively a bigger text). As such the mss. also repeatedly divide themselves sharply into two such major groups and the fact clearly points to the possibility of there being two divergent lines of the text-transmission. The classification of mss. into versions and even sub-versions is awaiting collation of some more mss. of the representative scripts. However. the respective versions of the North and South more or less conform to the respective recensions, exceptions being a few.

6. *Cf. ViP* IV. 14, passages 35-38.

7. *Cf. ViP* IV. 13, passages 137-38. Also cf. *ViP*. I. 12. 26-27 for the same ms. where the lacuna is due to the repetition of the words निशाचराः at the end of verses 25 and 27.

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प्रयोजनमुद्दिश्य सकल यादवसमाजमातागृह एवाचीकरत् ।। १३७ ।। तत्र चोप-
विष्टेष्वखिलेषु यदुसु पूर्व प्रयोजनमु—

is necessarily not a pointer of later accretion to other mss. rather it should be attribuited to haplology. In other mss. also, ws find a number of stanzas[8] and portions of the text which are missing and the cause of the lacuna with text is undoubtedly haplology, i. e., an error caused due to eyeskip of the copyist generally due to the occurrence of similar words and at times the eye skipping even the lines completely. This haplological error is difficult to be checked and questioned by the subsequent copyists who made verbatim copies af the ms. before them and hence it passed on to the subsequent mss. copied from the mss. of the family of same exampler.

Another interesting example of an interpolation is presented by the two verses[9] recording the overlordship of the directions to which Yayati anointed his sons before he retired for penances to the forest. The fact that he proceeded to the forest has been repeated immediately after the two verses and it appears to be a case of interpolation. The ms. evidence, however, comes for help to decide the issue inasmuch as the ms. (D4) does not record these two verses.

Another passage which is missing in D4 is the one where[10] Aṁśumān is spoken of to be asking for a boon from the sage Kapila, which ends with his being blessed with the bringing of the Ganges down to the Earth by his grandson and this fact has already been narrated by Kapila earlier. The repetition of the fact positively presupposes that the text in fact has been an interpolation and hence missing in a ms (D4) of older tradition.

The *stuti* of Viṣṇu by Dhruva contains two such verses[11] that appear to be interpolated inasmuch as they appear to repeat the same epithets of the lord, contents of which have already been spoken above. Both these verses occurring after the speech of Śrī Bhagavān have been found to

8. Thus the lacuna in D10 represented by the words विष्णुरिय॰ to विष्णुरिय॰ (in *ViP* I. 8. 18cd and 19 ab) is apparently due to haplology only.

9. *ViP* IV 10. 31-32

10. *ViP* IV. 4. 27-28.

11. *ViP* I. 12. 73-74.

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be missing in D4 only. It appears that the interpolation took place in early stage and D4 necessarily records an older tradition of the text.

The occurence of a passage of two verses[12] giving the names of the wives of the nine sons of Brahmā in the southern mss. only is again such a feature that makes it a fit case for treating it as an interpolation, being the creation of the copyists of the southern mss. only. The Editor of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* has drawn our attention to the general tendency of the southern recension of supplying details for the events of the hoary past, e. g., the details of about the exact age of the Pāṇḍavas[13] is such an example which is to be found in the southern recension only.

The sectarian bias or the over-enthusiasm has been a well known factor for the creation of interpolated text. Thus the occurrence of an important verse[14] that has apparently been added due to sectarian purpose by the Malayalam ms. alone, positively gives us a hint to the home of the verse thus interpolated. Similary the two passages[15] found in the Grantha and Telugu mss. are again interpolations in the praise of the Lord. They are positively missing in all the Devanāgarı (except D3, 16),[16] Śāradā and Bengali mss. The two additional verses begin with the words '*bahunātra kimuktena*' whereas the previous verse begins as '*kiṁ cāpi bahunoktena*' repeating the same sense that enough praise of the Lord has been sung.

The legend of Jaḍa-Bharata offers an important yet apparent interpolation[17], which may conclusively be attributed to the sectarian bias. It

12. *ViP* I.7.7-8
13. SUKTHANKAR, *Prolegomena, The Critical Edition of Mahābhārata*, p. xxxv.
14. *ViP* I. 12 97.
15. *ViP* I. 18. 27-28.
16. The two mss. D3 and D16 have quite often been following the Southern Recension. The absence of these two verses in the mss. of all the northern scripts including Nāgari (excepting D3, D16) again confirms the view that there were two lines of text transmission.
17. *Cf. ViP* II. 13. 48-50. The two verses are hardly connected with the main theme of legend and even on that ground they appear to be interpolations only. The text reads

तं ताद्दशमसंस्कारं विप्राकृतिविचेष्टितम् ।
क्षत्ता पृषतराजस्य काल्यै पशुमकल्पयत् ।।४८।।

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is said that once Jaḍa Bharata, being found to be entirely unconcerned for his body because of his constantly being in a realised state was attacked by a devotee of Kālī with a view to offer him as an offering to the goddess. The goddess, however, realising Jaḍa Bharata's utter unconcern for his body as a result of his being in the highest state of *yoga*, did not accept him as an offering (*bali*), rather on the contrary killed the cruel devotee. The passage happens to be a befitting example of an interpolation as the same is found only in the three Grantha mss. (G 2,3,5) and in none of the mss. collated so far of the other scripts, e. g., Nāgarī, Śāradā, Bengali, Telugu and Malayālam. As the mss. recording this episode are of the Grantha script only, the locale of this digression could be ascertained.

There is another passage, which is found only in some Grantha (G2, 3, 4), two Telugu (T1, 2) and one Malayālam ms. It is also to be found in one Bengali ms. The verse[18] speaks of all the epithets of Lakṣmī in terms of lotus. Now, even though the verse is completely missing in the Devanāgarī (exeepting D3), Śāradā and majority of the Bengali, Maithilī mss., yet it is a fit case of its being an interpolation, for it is available in all the three versions of the southern recension. The lone Devanāgarī (D3) and the Bengali ms. which also record this verse generally have shown the tendency of following the mss. of southern tradition (recension) or at the most a mixed text. This interpolation being restricted to only the southern mss. is necessarily a pointer to as suggested above, there being two recensions of the text.

C. V. Vaidya[19] has argued that since the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* mentions the Kaiṁkila yavanas, the date of this text must necessarily be posterior to the rule of Kaiṁkilas in Andhra Pradesh, i. e., somewhere after the 9th

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रात्रौ तं समलंकृत्य वैशसम्य विधानतः ।
अधिष्ठितं महाकाली ज्ञात्वा योगेश्वरं तथा ॥४९॥
ततः खड्गं समादाय निशितं निशि सा तथा ।
क्षत्तारं क्रूरकर्माणमच्छिनत्कण्ठमूलतः ।
स्वपार्षदयुता देवी पपौ रुधिरमुल्वणम् ॥५०॥

18. *Cf.* पद्मालयां पद्मकरां पद्मपत्रनिभेक्षणाम् ।
वंदे पद्ममुखीं देवीं पद्मनाभप्रियामहम् ॥ —*ViP* I. 9. 118.

19. Vaidya, C. V , *History of Mediaeval India*, Vol. I, 1921, p. 350.

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century. The date thus suggested necessarily contradicts the dates arrived at by other authorities, who also based their arguments on internal evidence of the text. It is, therefore, proposed to investigate the real nature of this passage and to know whether it formed an integral part of the text in its original form.

The passage recording the role of Kaiṁkilas[20] (also read as Kailakila, Kailikas, Kailakilas) does not occur in the three mss. (D4a, D11 and T1). In other words it is available in the majority of Devanāgarı mss. (including D4, and, of course, excluding D4a and 11), in all the Bengali, Śāradā, Telugu (excepting T1) and Grantha mss. collated by us so far for the critical edition of this text.

Of the three mss. enumerated above, the absence of this portion of the text in D11 does not allow us to come to some final conclusions, for this ms. suffers from a very big lacuna in this chapter. However, its absence in the other two mss. does clearly point out that the passage appears to have been interpolated. Its absence (of the complete sentence) in a Telugu ms. (T1) which otherwise was expected but to record the rule of a local dynasty in the area of the script is of much significance. This proves that the ms. (T1) also was perhaps recording an older tradition. So far as the ms. D4a is concerned, it is found to be quite similar to D4 and, therefore, if not entirely as reliable as D4, its reliability will comparatively be only a little less than D4, which as suggested above, seems to be a precursorof the two chief groups (recensions) of the text[21]. The exclusion of this passage necessarily allows us to attach more or equal importance to the D4a also. Thus the presence of this passage in the text need not necessarily be taken as a very decisive argument to date the original text of *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* as late as the 9th century as per the suggestion of Vaidya.

P. V. Kane,[22] draws the attention of scholars to the mention of

20. *Cf. ViP* IV. 24, passage no. 55.
21. Though, of course, the inclusion of this passage in D4 may also considered as argument for the reliability of the occurrence of this passage in the original text, yet the absence of this passage in D4a, which also because of its being supported by the local T1 on this point allows us more credence on D4a (which has been so numbered on account of its being quite nearer to the ms. D4).
22 Kane, P. V , *History of Dharma Śāstra*, Vol. V, p 909.

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Śākya, Śuddhodana and Rāhula in the lineage of Ikṣvāku rulers, Śuddhodana being mentioned as the 23rd in descent from Bṛhadbala. He further admits the possibility of interpolation in the p·ose passages, apparently meaning the above passage to be an interpolation.

Now, the text of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of the Kali age has been reported by F. E. PARGITER[23] to have been recorded in the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* (suffering from a lacuna). The corresponding passages are also available in the *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata* and *Garuḍa*. All the three *Purāṇas* mention only the names of the rulers leaving out all other details. It is the *ViP* which records the text in prose, whereas all other texts record the names of rulers in the usual *anuṣṭubh* metre.

It is interesting to note that all the Nāgarī (with the exception of D7), Śāradā, Bengali, Maithilī, Telugu, Grantha and Malayālam mss. record this passage. Hence very strictly speaking according to the rules of Textual Criticism, this passage may not apparently be taken as an interpolated one. However, the lacuna[24] in D7 on closer examination proves more to be a case of haplological error rather than a genuine lacuna making it to be a case of interpolation.

Though one could go on examining such passages but we have selected only those examples that have been mentioned by other scholars or appear to have some significance otherwise.

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23. PARGITER, F. E., *The Purāṇa-text of the Dynasties of Kali Age*, pp 8-12.

24. The D7 ms. does not also record the text passages nos. 6 and 7 also, besides the passage 8 in question. The text at the end of passage 5 reads: *amitrajit* and the text at the end of passage reads: *Prosenajit*, i.e., in both the cases the text ends in *jit*. Secondly, the beginning of both the passages 6 and 9 is with *tataśca*. Hence it is a very clear case of eyeskip or haplogical error by the copyist.

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G. K. BHAT, Poona:

# AṄKĀVATĀRA AND AṄKAMUKHA

## (As Arthopakṣepaka-s)

Bharata speaks of five *arthopakṣepaka-s*, that is, introductory or presentation devices in the context of dramatic plot-construction. They are : *praveśaka*, *viṣkambhaka*, *cūlikā*, *aṅkāvatāra* and *aṅkamukha*.[1] *Praveśaka*, and *viṣkambhaka* are familiar to the student of Sanskrit drama as introductory or linking scenes used for narrating or describing such matter of the plot as is not worth showing on the stage but which is essential for the connected development of the dramatic story. *Cūlikā* is a simple announcement 'behind the curtain' to introduce a new character. *Aṅkamukha* is a suggestion of the following act through the conversation of characters at the close of the previous act. This is the broad form of these devices. *Aṅkāvatāra* is, in its way, a simple and straight device. But the confusion about its natuıe in the later dramatic theory need to be cleared for its proper understanding.[2]

Bharata defines this *arthopakṣepaka* as follows : "The *aṅkāvatāra* or *descent of an act*, consisting of the presentation of some matter connected with the *seed* or central theme of a play, is an act which comes right at the end of an act or an act falls right into the (preceding) act, in view of the performance."[3]

1. *NS*, *GOS*, XIX. 110 ff. (The references are throughout to he *GOS* ed.).
2. For full deta'ls, see my *Nāṭya-mañjarī-saurabha*, Introduction, pp. 64-87, Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona (1981), on which this article is based.
3. *Cf. NS*, XIX. 115—

अङ्कान्त एव चाङ्को निपतति यस्मिन् प्रयोगमासाद्य ।
बीजार्थयुक्तियुक्तो ज्ञेयो ह्यङ्कावतारोऽसौ ॥

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The definition in *Daśarūpaka* (*DR*) is similar. *DR* adds that the close succession of two acts come 'without separation'.[4] Thus, *aṅkāvatāra* is the continuation of dramatic action without a break, except that of a technical or formal separation of acts, where the same characters in the closing act move over into the following act and carry the dramatic action forward. The illustration is *Mālavikāgnimitra* acts I and II. The decision for the dance exhibition has been taken and instructions for preparation are given at the end of act I, in stead of conveying this information through a *praveśaka* or *viṣkambhaka*; at the given signal the characters move over to the music hall to see the performance, with which act II opens. This continuity without any break or division makes the second act an *aṅkāvatāra*.

*Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa* (*NLRK*) defines *aṅkāvatāra*[5] as the carrying over of the act or transition to the next act, and it occurs when in one act, which is being brought to an end, the indication of the next act is given. The example given is the closing verse of act I of *Nāgānanda*. In this verse Jīmūtavāhana describes the state of unbearable longing of an elephant; and this is a preview of his own condition which will be described in the following act. This indication of the action coming within the act, and to be presented directly in the next act, is *aṅkāvatāra*, according to *NLRK*. Clearly, *NLRK* is deviating from Bharata. But the concept fits *aṅkamukha* also. Further, *NLRK* forgets that act II of *Nāgānanda* opens with a *praveśaka*; the love-longing of Jīmūtavāhana for Malayavatī is shown further. So, if an advance indication of what is going to happen in the next act is *NLRK*'s idea of *aṅkāvatāra*, it is overlapping and contrary to the conception of Bharata.

*Bhāvaprakāśana* (*BP*)[6] first quotes the *DR* definitiou of *aṅkāvatāra* and paraphrases it by stating that 'an *aṅkāvatāra* is an introduction or

4. *Cf. DR*, I 62—

अङ्कान्तपात्रैरङ्कास्यं छिन्नाङ्कस्यार्थसूचनात् ।
अङ्कावतारस्त्वङ्कान्ते पातोऽङ्कस्याविभागतः ॥

5. See *NLRK*, 52—

समाप्यमान एकस्मिन्नङ्के ह्यन्यस्य सूचनम् ।
समासतो हि नाट्योक्तैः सोऽङ्कावतार इष्यते ॥

6. *BP* (*GOS*), VII, p. 218, ll. 13-16—

अङ्कावतारस्त्वङ्कान्ते पातोऽङ्कस्याविभागतः ।
पूर्वाङ्कस्यावसानोक्तकथाऽविच्छेद - पूर्वकम् ॥

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appearance (*praveśa* of a coming act in such a way as not to break the continuity of the story at the end of the previous act'. The example is the same, *Mālavikāgnimitra* acts I-II. *BP* then quotes the *NLRK* definition citing the same example from *Nāgānanda*. Obviously *BP* is stating contrary views without indicating which it prefers. *BP* adds that these devices are used when *praveśaka* or *viṣkambhaka* cannot be used. This is a point mentioned by *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* too, and is implied in the writing of other theorists.

*Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (*ND*)[7] states the general view about *aṅkāvatāra* which is identical with Bharata's conception. *ND*'s definition may not appear to be quite clear but it is fully explained in the gloss. Accordingly, 'when there is no matter of the plot which could be suggested or indicated through the device of *praveśaka* or *viṣkambhaka*, and when the same characters in an act continue the following act to present the unbroken continuity of dramatic action, we have an *aṅkāvatāra*, because the following act has been made to descend into, glide into, the preceding act'. The illustration is the same, *Mālavikāgnimitra* I-II.

*ND* mentions other opinions also regarding *aṅkāvatāra*. One such opinion is that 'an act in which the seed of the play is sown, the central theme of the story which is at the basis of every act is brought in, that act is known as *aṅkāvatāra*'. The illustration is drawn from *Ratnāvalī* act II, where a maid's observation that a jewel-like girl Sāgarikā certainly deserves to fall in love with king Udayana touches the love theme which is the content of all the acts of the play. *ND* does not say who advanced this opinion. But we shall be able to see that it is derived from Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*NS*) portion.

The second opinion mentioned by *ND* is that *aṅkāvatāra* means *garbhāṅka*, an act inserted within an act. This opinion may be traced to Bhoja. *BP* seems to be aware of it.

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प्रवेशो भाविनोऽङ्कस्य सोऽङ्कावतार इष्यते ।
समाप्यमान एकस्मिन्नितराङ्कस्य सूचनम् ॥

Also, p. 219, ll. 7-12

7. *ND*, I. 27 –

'सोऽङ्कावतारो यत् पात्रैरङ्कान्तरमसूचनम् ।'
पात्रान्तराभावेन यस्य एव अङ्कस्य पात्रैः अविच्छिन्नार्थतया सूचनीयार्थस्य अभावात् प्रवेशकविष्कम्भकसूचनारहितं अङ्कान्तरं भवति, स द्वितीयाङ्कस्य अवतारणाद् अङ्कावतारः ।

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The definition in *Rasārṇavasudhākara* (*RS*)[8] is consistent with Bharata's view. '*Aṅkāvatāra* occurs when the characters engaged in the action of the previous act enter, all of them, in the next act without any break'. *RS* observes that both *aṅkāsya* (*aṅkamukha*) and *aṅkāvatāra* are not external to an act but are its integral part, because the characters in them are (already) present on the stage.

The definition in *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (*SD*) follows the general view. 'When an act descends or comes in, unseparated from the previous act and as indicated by the characters at the end of the previous act, it is *aṅkāvatāra*'. But while all theorists illustrate this device by *Mālavikāgnimitra* I-II, *SD* illustrates it by *Śākuntala* V-VI ! *SD* has forgotten that act VI of *Śākuntala* opens with a *praveśaka* which shows a real break and a turn in the dramatic action. This is a positive blunder which is impossible to be accounted for.[9]

The two opinions expressed in the later theory are contrary to Bharata's conception and also confuse the two *arthopakṣepaka-s*, namely, *aṅkamukha* and *aṅkāvatāra*. Bharata's idea of *aṅkamukha* is quite simple. It is an advance indication of the opening of the next act, which is detached (*viśliṣṭa*) from the previous act; the indication is given by a male or a female character. The character obviously belongs to the previous act, as the indication is provided in advance (*pūrvam*). Further, as the indication is about the opening of the next act, the indicatory speech of the character should naturally come towards the close of the

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8. *RS*, III. 191-194—

अङ्कावतारः पात्राणां पूर्वकार्यानुवर्तिनाम् ॥
अविभागेन सर्वेषां भाविन्यङ्के प्रवेशनम् ।
द्वितीयाङ्के 'मालविकाग्निमित्रे' स निरूप्यताम् ॥
पात्रेणाङ्कप्रविष्टेन केवलं सूचितत्वतः ।
भवेद् अङ्काद् अवाह्यत्वं अङ्कास्याङ्कावतारयोः ॥

9. *Cf. SD.* VI. 58b-59a—

अङ्कान्ते सूचितः पात्रैस्तदङ्कस्याविभागतः ।
यत्राङ्कोऽवतरत्येषोऽङ्कावतार इति स्मृतः ॥

यथा अभिज्ञाने पञ्चमाङ्के पात्रैः सूचितः षष्ठाङ्कः तदङ्कस्य अङ्गविशेष इव अवतीर्णः ।
Or, is *Abhijñāna* some different play, unknown or lost to us ?

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previous act.[10] Thus *aṅkānta-pātraiḥ*, which *DR* uses in the definition of its *aṅkāsya*, is a legitimate implication from Bharata's own definition of *aṅkamukha*. It also follows that Bharata's *aṅkamukha* and *DR*'s *aṅkāsya* are not two different but identical conceptions. *Āsya* and *mukha* are synonyms. *DR* may have preferred one term to the other to suit the metrical exigency of the metrical construction of its *kārikā* There appears to be no reason, therefore, to distinguish *aṅkāsya* and *aṅkamukha* as *BP* and *SD* do. Other theorists use the term *aṅkāsya*; but its definition agrees with *DR*'s view and eventually with the conception of Bharata.

The confusion which the treatment of *BP* and *SD* shows is likely to be due to influence of *NLRK*. *NLRK* holds peculiar views in regard to both *aṅkamukha* and *aṅkāvatāra*. *NLRK* thinks that in *aṅkamukha* there is 'a threading together', an advance indication of all the major events to be shown in the several acts of a play.[11] What could be *NLRK*'s source for this view? The usual ground is supposed to be that the theorists may have some new dramas before them which are now lost to us; and the consideration of new dramatic practice may have led them to reconsider the prevailing theory. This reasoning cannot be availed of here, because in the case of *aṅkamukha* as well as *aṅkāvatāra* the illustrations cited are from well known classical plays. It means, therefore, that the real question is of a correct interpretation of the theoretical concepts.

*NLRK*'s example of *aṅkamukha* is *Mālatīmādhava* I, where an advance indication of the major events of the play is provided. A parallel instance probably would be *Ratnāvalī* II, where the central theme of all acts is indicated. This example is used in a certain context by Abhinavagupta;

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10. See, *NS*, XIX. 116—

विश्लिष्टमुखमङ्कस्य स्त्रिया वा पुरुषेण वा ।
यदुपक्षिप्यते पूर्वं तदङ्कमुखमुच्यते ॥

11. See *NLRK*, 54—

'सूत्रणं सकलाङ्कानां ज्ञेयम् अङ्कमुखं बुधैः ॥'

येन एकत्र सकलानामङ्कानां सूत्रणं क्रियते तदङ्कमुखम् । यथा मालतीमाधवे प्रकरणे कामन्दकी-अवलोकितयोः प्रथमाङ्कतः सौदामिनीवार्ताप्रस्तावतः कपालकुण्डला-अघोरघण्टादि-कथाभिः सकलमेव कथितमङ्कजातमिति ।

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but he designates it as *avatārāṅka*.[12] *ND* has referred to this view. If Abhinava's opinion were therefore to be respected, the idea of an *advance summary* of all the events or of the central theme worked out in several acts of a play will be particularly relevant for *aṅkāvatāra*, and not for *aṅkamukha* where we are concerned with the opening of an act. *NLRK*'s view of *aṅkāvatāra* also and the example given are more appropriate for *aṅkāsya* or *aṅkamuka*. *NLRK* is obviously confused.

*BP*'s attempt, therefore, to accept both *aṅkāsya* according to *DR* and *aṅkamukha* according to *NLRK* is misguided The distinction suggested, that in *aṅkāsya* there is a connection between the events of the previous aud the following acts, and in *aṅkamukha* no such connection is implied, is not helpful; because the idea of connection between two sets, which some theorists have upheld, is particularly relevant for *aṅkāvatāra*; as will be seen. *SD* stating that *aṅkamukha* refers to the central theme (following Abhinavagupta, probably) indicate that it is concerned more with the introduction of an act.

The views of *NLRK*, thus, do not seem to be supported either by the general theory or by an outstanding example, and have to be rejected, It also appears that *aṅkāsya* and *aṅkamukha* are to be treated as synonyms.

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12. Read, Abhinava on *NS*. XVIII. 14 ff. (*GOS*, Vol II, p. 417)—

अनया तु आर्यया (ना० शा० १८.१६) अङ्कस्य त्रैविध्यमुच्यते । तथा चोक्तं कोहलादौ—'त्रिधाऽङ्कोऽङ्कावतारेण चूडयाऽङ्कमुखेन वा' । ... अत्र अर्थस्य कस्यचित् सम्यग् अन्यत एव अनभिसन्धानपूर्विका आप्तिः प्राप्तिः इति चूडा दर्शिता । तद्यथा रत्नावल्यां वैतालिकपाठाद् 'दृशामुदयनस्य' इत्यन्तः उपयोगी सम्यगर्थः प्राप्तः ।.... तेन प्रथमः चूलिकाङ्कः । यत्र तु अङ्के सर्वेषां अङ्कानां योऽर्थो बीजलक्षणः तस्य संहारः संमिलितत्वेन प्राप्तिः भवति, सः अवताराङ्कः । यथा रत्नावल्यां द्वितीयोऽङ्कः । तत्र हि 'ईरिसस्स कण्णआजणस्स ईरिस एव्व वरे अहिलासेण होदव्वम्' इत्यादि प्रकृतमेव सर्वं वर्ण्यते । यत्र तु अनुसन्धानमात्रप्राणत्वेन तदुपयोगितया वृत्तान्त उच्यते तद् उपश्लिष्टं अङ्कमुखम् । स एव इह 'किञ्चिदवलग्नबिन्दुः' इति तृतीयो भेद उक्तः । यथा रत्नावल्यां तृतीयेऽङ्के ऐन्द्रजालवृत्ता·त निरूपणम् ।··· इह तु अभिसन्धानं यौगन्धरायणादीनां अस्त्येव ।

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The example given by Dhanika, *Mahāvīracarita* II-III,for *aṅkāsya* appears to be somewhat ambiguous. *SD* is doubtful about it.[13] But it may be harmonised in the light of the explanation given by Bhaṭṭa-Nṛsiṁha in his *Laghuṭīkā* on *DR*: Nṛsiṁha says that a character introduced in the middle of an act and remaining on stage till the act ends could also be called *āṅkānta-pātra*; in that case *aṅkmukha* would be similar to *aṅkāvatāra*. To keep the two *arthopakṣepakas* distinct the phrase is to be understood to refer only to such character as enters the act at its close. Secondly, the following act is supposed to be *viśliṣṭa* or unconnected with, separated from, the previous act. These two features distinguish *aṅkāvatāra.* In the latter, the character or characters are already present on the stage, introduced from the beginning or the middle of an act, and not brought in only at the end. Further, in *aṅkāvatāra* the action of the previous act runs on into the following act. This does not happen in *aṅkāsya*; the character enters only at the close of the previous act and the action continues in the next act with the necessary *break* towards further development. Understood thus, Dhanika's example would show that Sumantra enters at the end of the act bringing a message; and though some characters of the previous act re-appear in the following act, the action of the previous act itself is *not* continned in the next, but its *next phase* is indicated by Sumantra's speech. Nṛsiṁha also explains the term *aṅkāsya* : 'mouth' (*āsya*) is a part of the 'face' (*mukha*); the mouth 'bites' into a morsel of food. Here too, since the matter of the following act is indicated beforehand by the end of the previous act, the following act is like a mouth that bites into the action of the previous act; the new act opens following this indication, and is accordingly called '*aṅkāsya*'.[14]

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13. *Cf. SD*, VI. 60 ff. Quoting the definition of *aṅkāsya* from *DR*—
(अङ्कान्तपात्रैरङ्कास्यं छिन्नाङ्कस्यार्थसूचनात् ।) *SD* observes, अत्र (उदाहरणे) पूर्वाङ्कान्त एव प्रविष्टेन सुमन्त्रपात्रेण शतानन्दजनककथाविच्छेदे उत्तराङ्कमुख-सूचनाद् अङ्कास्यम् इति । एतच्च धनिकमतानुसारेण उक्तम् । अन्ये तु 'अङ्कावतरणेन एव इदं गतार्थम्' इत्याहुः ।

14. *DR* with *Avaloka* and *Laghuṭīkā* of Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṁha, ed. T. Venkatacharya, Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras, 1969, p. 67. Read:
ननु अङ्कमध्ये प्रविष्टं अङ्कान्त यावत् अनुवर्तमानमपि पात्रं अङ्कान्तपात्रं इति वक्तुं शक्यते, यथा अङ्कावतारे, तत्राह 'अङ्कान्त एव' इति । वक्ष्यमाणाङ्कार्थ-सूचनाय अङ्कान्तो एव प्रविष्टं पात्रं अङ्कान्तपात्रम् इत्यर्थः । विश्लिष्टस्य' इति । अङ्कावतारत्वं मा प्रसाङ्क्षीद् इति उक्तस्य विच्छेदस्य विवरणं इति उक्तं भवति ।

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The essential features of *aṅkāsya/aṅkamukha* would, thus, appear to be as follows:

(i) A character, male or female, appearing at the close of an act utters a speech;

(ii) it indicates the happening of the next act, and an advance idea of the *opening* of the following act is thereby provided;

(iii) The two acts appear to be thus connected; but the connection pertains only to the development of the *next phase* in the dramatic story; there is no question of unbroken contiguity or continuation of dramatic action.

Regarding *aṅkāvatāra* there are apparently four ideas that can be gathered from the writing of the theorists.

(i) Bharata's conception of *aṅkāvatāra* is of a close succession of two acts. The characters in an act go over into the next act and the action continues from the previous to the following act, the break or the end of the previous act being only formal, marked in script and observed in performance in view of the time already taken up or as an indication of a change in the 'scene of action'. This view is followed by all later theorists, except *NLRK*. Barring *SD*, the illustration used by them is also identical.

(ii) *NLRK*'s view of *aṅkāvatāra*[15] is of a brief indication of the succeeding act, given as the previous act is being brought to a close. Though this feature is present in *aṅkāsya* or *aṅkmukha*, it is also assumed in *aṅkāvatāra*. To avoid overlapping, and also because *NLRK*'s view about *aṅkamukha* deserves to be rejected, we have again no alternative but to reject *NLRK*'s definition of *aṅkāvatāra* too. It has been pointed out that *NLRK*'s example of *aṅkāvatāra* is faulty and the author has failed to note that the happening in the next act is preceded by a *praveśaka*. If a *praveśaka* or a *viṣkaṁbhaka* can be used at the beginning of act,

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उत्तराङ्कमुखस्य इति अनेन आस्यशब्दं समञ्जसयति। मुखस्य अवयवो हि आस्यम् तस्माद् येन दष्टो भवति पूर्वाङ्कः तद् अङ्कास्यम् इति उक्तं भवति। तद्वशेन अङ्कावतार इति फलिततमर्थमाह।

15. See footnote (5).

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there is simply no occasion for using another introductory device like *aṅkāvatāra*.

(iii) Another view yet, which *ND* has mentioned, looks upon *aṅkāvatāra* as an act in which the *seed* of the play or the central theme underlying all the acts is indicated. The example is *Ratnāvalī* act II, where the theme of love which is at the basis of the whole play is clearly foreshadowed. This is suggested in Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *NS* and it is worthwhile examining it carefully.

Abhinava is commenting on Bharata's description of an *aṅka* of a drama, and especially on Bharata's phrase that 'an act can be constructed in various ways'.[16] Abhinava mentions three ways of building an act: by *cūḍā*, by *aṅkāvatāra* and by *aṅkamukha*; and he quotes Kohala on the point. The definitions of the three kinds of *aṅka* as given by Kohala are substantially the same as found in the *NS*. Explaining the idea of *avatāra*, Abhinava says that 'an act in which the content or matter of all acts, indicative of the seed or the central theme, is collected together and presented is *avatāra-aṅka*. The illustration given is *Ratnāvalī* act II, the maid Susaṅgatā's observation that Sāgarikā must entertain love only for such a husband as king Udayana. This is the theme of the play, the content of all acts; and as it is suggested here, Abhinava calls it *avatāra-aṅka*.[17] It is plain that Abhinava is *not* speaking here about the *arthopakṣepaka* or introductory device technically known as *aṅkāvatāra*; and that for several reasons: First, Kohala's definition of (*aṅka*) *avatāra* is quite clear; it is 'the connection of an act into another act'; and this is not different from Bharata's conception in principle. Abhinava is not likely to misinterpret this definition. Secondly, Abhinava himself says a little further that '*aṅkāvatāra* is an act tied to the previous act in virtue of the mutually connected story itself', and quotes the definition found in the *NS*.[18] Thirdly, in summing up his exposition Abhinava observes that

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16. See *NS* XVIII. 14-16 (*GOS*, Vol. II, pp. 416-417). The phrase is—

नानाविधानयुक्तो (यस्मात्तस्माद् भवेदङ्कः)।

17. See footnote (12)

18. *NS* XVII. 28 (*GOS*, Vol. II, p. 421) Read:

कथया एव परस्परश्लिष्टया अनुवद्धः अङ्कावतारः। यथोक्तम्—

अङ्कान्तर एवाङ्को निपतति यस्मिन् प्रयोगमासाद्य।
नाट्यार्थकथायोगाद् विज्ञेयोऽङ्कवतारोऽसौ॥

The reading in *NS* is वीजार्थयुक्तियुक्तो in b.

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the matter which is worth presenting in an act is of two kinds: the main, and the other which is helpful to it. The latter may help the main story as a stroke of good luck, that is, as a coincidence; or it may help in virtue of some connection with the main story. Thus, the content of an act could be viewed in three aspects. Some play-wrights may construct an act so as to mix up all the three. So, we must remember that *cūḍā* or *cūlikā* and *aṅkamukha*, which are looked upon as *varieties of act-construction*, are incidental matters and have no direct connection with the main story.[19] The implication of Abhinava's exposition is that *aṅka-avatāra* is different from the other two, and may have a connection with the main plot. In other words, Abhinava is examining an act from the point of view of its *content* and the *manner* of its contruction. His reference to *bīja*, the seed or central theme, also suggests the same. We know that *bīja* (along with *bindu*, *patākā*, *prakarī* and *kārya*) is spoken of as *arthaprakṛti*, a component or instrument of plot-construction and not as an *arthopakṣepaka* or an introductory device. These considerations lead one to believe that Abhinava is using the word *avatāra* in the passage under discussion in the non-technical sense of 'descent, gliding into' or 'bringing in' of the content of *all* acts. Abhinava's *aṅkāvatāra* here means *aṅkānām avatāraḥ* (bringing in of all acts), and not *aṅkasya avatāraḥ* (the close succession of the previous and the following acts).

Writers and commentators do use the word *avatāra* in its simple, non-technical sense.[20] The failure to understand the point seems to have

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19. *Ibid.* (*NS*, *GOS*, Vol. II, pp. 417-418). Read—
तेन अयं संक्षेपः । अङ्के यद् वर्णनीयं वस्तु तत् तावद् द्विधा, प्रधानं तदुपयोगि च । तदुपयोगि अपि किञ्चिद् दैववशाद् उपयोगं याति किञ्चिद् अभिसन्धानबलाद्, इति त्रिविधः अङ्कार्थः । स कदाचिद् एकस्मिन् अङ्के मिश्रभावेनापि निबध्यते इति । चूलिका- अङ्कमुखयोः अङ्कभेदयोः प्रधानार्थस्पर्शो न एव अस्ति, इति ।

20. Consider, among others, the following—
(i) Dhanika's comm. on अङ्कास्य, *DR* I. 62a:
अङ्कान्त एव पात्रम् अङ्कान्तपात्रम्, तेन विश्लिष्टस्य उत्तराङ्कमुखस्य सूचनम्, तद्वशेन उत्तराङ्कावतारो अङ्कास्यम् इति । Commenting on अङ्कावतार proper Dhanika writes, प्रथमाङ्कार्थ-अविच्छेदेन एव द्वितीयाङ्कस्य अवतरणाद् अङ्कावतारः इति ।
(ii) Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṁha on *DR*'s अङ्कास्य quoted in note (14): तद्वशेन अङ्कावतारः इति फलितमर्थमाह ।

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caused all the confusion. There is a further point that emerges from Abhinava's summing up, referred to above, where he says that a dramatist may use, in one act, an opening device like *cūlikā* or *aṅkamukha* and also a component of plot-construction like *bīja*, both mixed together. In the technical language of dramaturgy this means a mixture of *arthopakṣepaka* and *arthaprakṛti* in one act, so that an act as 'brought in' (*avatāra*) with the suggestive content of all the acts. As I understand, therefore, Abhinava is using the word *avatāra* in a simple sense in this passage; and so far as the technical sense of *avatāra* is concerned Abhinava would naturally accept Bharata's definition of *aṅkāvatāra* as an introductory device, which is confirmed later by his quotation from the *NS*. At best we could say that Abhinava is proposing two ideas about *aṅkāvatara*: one as an *arthopakṣepaka*, which is identical with Bharata's conception; the other idea of *avatāra* is that of suggestive summing up of the central theme or the content of all acts. This latter, however, is not confined to the *opening* of an act; it can come somewhere in an act; and in view of its connection with the main plot, it is allied to *arthaprakṛti*. Abhinava, thus, is viewing *avatāra* both as an *arthopakṣepaka* (introductory device) and as an *arthaprakṛti* (instrument or component of plot-construction).

I suspect that a misunderstanding of Abhinava's observations may have led *NLRK* to adopt the idea of 'a threading together of all the acts' and apply it wrongly to *aṅkamukha*. And *BP* and *SD* seem to have repeated this view, for a record, without examining it critically.

(iv) The forth idea about *aṅkāvatāra*, mentioned by *ND*, is that it means a *garbhāṅka*. · This opinion, traceable to Bhoja,[21] is a needless confusion. *Garbhāṅka*, as defined in theory, is act within an act, play within the play. It is not an introductory device to open an act. A *garbhāṅka* is inserted anywhere within an act according to the con-

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21. See, *ND*. I. 27 ff.—
अयं (अङ्कावतारः) च गर्भाङ्कोऽप्युच्यते यदाहुः—"अङ्कान्तरेव चाङ्को निपतति यस्मिन् प्रयोगमासाद्य । बीजार्थयुक्तियुक्तो गर्भाङ्को नाम विज्ञेयः ।।"
Raghavan (Notes to *NLRK*, Dillon's ed.) connects this view to Bhoja, quoting—

बीजार्थयुक्तिमानङ्को योऽङ्केष्वेकः प्रयुज्यते ।
स नाटकेषु गर्भाऽङ्कावतारश्च कथ्यते ।।

*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Josyer's ed, Vol. II, p. 477.

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venience of plot-construction. Further, it is not a presentation of the main story of a play, but of an event which is 'indirectly helpful' (*tad-upayogi*) to the main plot, as Abhinava would have said. There is no reason, therefore, to confuse *grabhāṅka* with *aṅkāvatāra*. The word *avatāra* could be applied to it only in the non-technical sense, because a *garbhāṅka* too 'descends' into an act, is 'brought within' an act. But while unbroken continuity is the essential feature of *aṅkāvatāra*, the insertion of *garbhāṅka* deliberately breaks the main dramatic action.

It is clear, therefore, that we must accept the original conception of Bharata about *aṅkāvatāra*.

Bharata seems to have conceived the *arthopakṣepaka-s* as dramatic devices to open an act, as he was discussing the nature and construction of an act of a play. He stated that *praveśaka* and *viṣkaṁbhaka* could be used at the beginning of dramatic acts for a number of purposes, but mainly to condense and convey all such happenings as could not be, or should not be, presented on the stage, and to suggest the coming happening which would be represented in the act. The other devices are meant for opening an act. When the opening of an unconnected succeeding act is idicated by the speech of a character at the end of the preceding act, it is *aṅkāsya* or *aṅkamukha*. *Cūlikā* is used when there is no such approtunity, so that a character by a speech off-stage opens an act and/or introduces a coming event or a character. This is the difference between these two devices. *Aṅkamukha* and *aṅkāvatāra* share one feature, namely, that a charcter or characters present on the stage in the preceding act hint at the opening of the suceeding act. But the difference is as follows:

(1) In *aṅkamukha* (or *aṅkāsya*) the character who provides the indication enters the stage only at the close of the previous act; in *aṅkāvatāra* the characters are present on the stage through the main action of the previous act.

(ii) These characters go over into the succeeding act and continue the action in *aṅkāvatāra*.

(iii) There is a real continuation of action in *aṅkāvatāra*, without a break. The two acts come in close succcesion; the end of the previous act is only formal. This does not happen in *aṅkāsya/aṅkamukha*, where

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the next phase dramatic development only is indicated and the idea of close succession or unbroken continuation is clearly absent.

*ND* provides a perspective on those *arthopakṣepaka-s* suggesting the correct occasion for their use.[22] When there is a sufficiently long interval of time between the happenings shown in two acts, a *praveśaka* or *viṣkaṁbhaka* may be used to indicate the intermediate links of story development. When such interval of time is short, and *praveśaka* or *viṣkaṁbhaka* can not be used, *aṅkāsya/aṅkamukha* is to be used. With still shorter time, *cūlikā* is to be used. And with the shortest possible time, in fact, when the dramatic action does not permit any break, *aṅkāvatāra* is to be used to open the next act.

22. *ND*, I. 27b and gloss—
(वहौ) वहुकाले च सूच्ये (आद्यौ) प्रवेशक-विष्कम्भकौ। (अल्पे) अल्पकाले च अङ्कास्य। (अल्पतरे) अल्पतरकाले च चूलिका। (अल्पतमे) अल्पतमकाले च अङ्कावतार इति।

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Vijay PANDYA, Ahmedabad:

## IS THERE MORE THAN ONE *VIṬA* IN THE *MṚCCHAKAṬIKA* ?

There seems to be some hitherto unnoticed confusion among scholars about the character of *viṭa* in the play *Mṛcchakaṭika*. The character of *viṭa* appears first in the first act, and than in the eighth act as a companion of Śakāra. The character of *viṭa* also appears in the fifth act accompanying Vasantasenā while she was going to her lover Cārudatta's house. Now, is this *viṭa* both in the first and the eighth acts different from or identical with the character of *viṭa* in the fifth act ?

It appears that the question regarding the identity of the character of *viṭa* is being raised here for the first time. Scholars have either tended to regard the character of *viṭa*, a companion of Śakāra, different from or identical with that of *viṭa* accompanying Vasantasenā. While taking up a particular position (it would be rather a misnomer to call it a position which would mostly be reflected in the list of *Dramatis Persona* (in the editions of the play). No scholar seems to be aware of the possibility of a stand different from their own. A group of scholars holds both these characters to be indentical, and it has not struck to their minds that they could be held to be different as KALE[1], DEVASTHALI[2], G. K. BHAT[3] and Ramashankar TIWARI[4] understand them to be. In turn, if these Indian scholars regard *viṭa* of Śakāra and *viṭa* of Vasantasenā as different chara-

1. *Mṛcchakaṭika* '62 :

   In the list of *Dramatis Persona* a distinction is drawn between *viṭa*-a friend of Śakāra, and *viṭa*-an attendant of Vasantasenā.

   Further in the Notes, p. 107, KALE reiterates the distinction by saying 'Vasantasenā's own *viṭa*'.

2. Introduction to the study of *Mṛcchakaṭika* '51, p. 97.
3. Preface to *Mṛcchakaṭika* '53, p. 114.
4. *Mahākavi Śūdraka* '67, a work in Hindi, p. 330.

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cters, then it has not bothered their minds even for a moment that whom they consider as different personalities might be taken to be identical by other authorities like RYDER[5], J. A. B. VAN BUITENAN,[6] and Henry WELLS[7]? There is nothing unusual in scholars taking up different stands on a particular issue. It is surprising that no group of scholars shows any awareness or even an inkling of the possibility of a different stand from their own taken by the other group of scholars.

The present writer holds that the character of *viṭa*, a companion of Śakāra, is not different from that of the *viṭa* accompanying Vāsantasenā to her lover Cārudatta's house. This stand can be substantiated on the following grounds:

(i) Śūdraka is unequalled in the art of characterisation. His every character in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, be it a major or a minor one, is invested with life. Even the lowliest of the low, who may have been assigned a passing role of even of a few moments has an individuality of his own. To wit, *ceṭa*, a servant, can be considered as one of the minor-most characters. In the drama, in all there are three *ceṭas*, viz., one of Śakāra named Sthāvaraka, one of Cārudatta named Vardhamānaka, and one of Vasantasenā named Kumbhīlaka. Now each of these three is a conscious creation of the dramatist and different personality from the other two. This holds true of all the characters in the drama. If we regard the *viṭa* of Śakāra to be different from that of Vasantasenā, then one has to concede that *viṭa* of Vasantasenā lacks any individuality of his own, which can mark him different from the *viṭa* of Śakāra. *Viṭa* accompanying Vasantasenā, is indistinguishable from the companion of Śakāra. But

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5. *The Little Clay Cart*, *HOS*, Vol, ix '37, Introduction, p. XXX.
6. *Tde Literatures of India-An Introduction* '74, p. 102.
7. It is difficult to make out what precisely is the position taken by Henry WELLS. He alternates between the articles a' and 'the' in his work, viz., *The Classical Drama of India*, '63. On p. 141 referring to the union of lovers in the fifth act he applies the article 'the' to '*Viṭa*' Then again on p. 143. Henry WELLS alludes to *Viṭa*', as a companion of Śakāra with an article 'the'. But on p. 144, again referring to the situation in the fifth act he writes 'She is followed by a *viṭa*'. Whether this is deliberate or inadvertent is more than one can say. But taking together the references on pp. 141 and 143 together, and regarding the reference on p. 144 as a slip of pen, the present writer has deemed it fit to group Henry WELLS, the way he has done.

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this cannot be the case with Śūdraka with his immense artistic creativity infusing life in each and every character. Then it is logical to assume that the dramatist does not intend the character of *viṭa* appearing in the fifth act to be different from that of *viṭa* appearing in the first and the eighth acts.

(ii) It is also worth-recording that the dramatist has not assigned any name to the character of *viṭa*. Had the playwright intended the character of *viṭa* not to be indentical, he would have endowed them with proper-names as he has done in the case of the three *ceṭas*. The playwright seems to have portrayed an institutionalised character of *viṭa*-a representative of his class *viṭa*.

(iii) One of the explanations of the term *viṭa* is *tadupajīvitayā tayoḥ sandeśaṁ parasparaṁ viṭatīti viṭaḥ*.[8] One, who works as an errand-boy between a harlot and a citizen. That is exactly what *viṭa* is doing in the drama either in the first act accompanying Śakāra or the fifth act conducting Vasantasenā to her lover Cārudatta. So the *viṭa* is not in the service of either Śakāra or Vasantasenā. He is there on the scene simply in his professional capacity. He is there to create a conducive condition for the courtezan and a citizen. So in all likelihood, he is commissioned by Vasantasenā in her task in the fifth act. He does appear to be a constant companion of Śakāra but that is probably due to the powerful position held by Śakāra in the hierarchy of the kingdom.

(iv) Mode of address to the *viṭa* by Vasantasenā either in the first or the eighth act is the same, i. e., *bhāva*.

(v) In the first act, the *viṭa* points out the house of Cārudatta to Vasantasenā. Similarly in the fifth act too, the *viṭa* leads Vasantasenā to the residence of Cārudatta.

(vi) In the eighth act the *viṭa* leaves Vasantasenā in lurch relying upon the words of crafty Śakāra. This behaviour of *viṭa* is found to be inexplicable and hence reproachable by some scholars.[9] But to comprehend

8. The commentary of Śrī Yaśodhara on the *Kāmasūtra* 1. 4. 32. *Cf. The Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana wiih *Jayamaṅgalā ṭīkā* of Śri Yaśodhara, ed. by Devadatta Sastri '64, p. 149.

9. "What is difficult to explain in this episode is the part of the *viṭa*," G. K. Bhat, *loc. cit.*, p. 63.

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his behaviour in the eighth act one has to bear in mind that the *viṭa* seems to be possessing a soft corner for Vasantasenā as is most ingeniously suggested by Dr. RYDER.[10] The *viṭa* in the first act drops helping hints to Vasantasenā. Then again in the fifth act he guides her to the house of her lover Cārudatta. But in the eighth act he finds to his utter dismay and frustration, that Vasantasenā has come to Śakāra. So long as Vasantasenā loves Cārudatta, the *viṭa* does not mind and bears the pangs of love, arising out of a sort of platonic relationship. But when his adored lady appears to him to be making overtures to a character unworthy of her then he is resigned and out of sheer desperation, he deserts her. This may be the most plausible explanation one can offer of his enigmatic behaviour in the Eighth Act. Palpably this explanation is based on this view that the *viṭa* of the fifth act and the *viṭa* of the first and the eighth acts are one character.

Thus there is only one *vita* in the play *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

10. *Loc. cit*, p. XX.

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P. G. LALYE, Hyderabad:

# BELLAMKONDA RAMARAYA: AN INTRODUCTION TO A TWENTIETH CENTURY POET

Bellamkonda Ramaraya Kavi is one of the greatest Sanskrit poets of Andhra, belonging to the twentieth century galaxy of Sanskrit poets of Andhra Pradesh. His works nearing fifty have, encompassed many branches of Sanskrit literature. As many works were written in Telulgu script, the non-Telugu scholars know very little about him. Here is an attempt to give an idea about his life and works.

Ramaraya (hence-forth referred to as BRK) was born at Pamiḍipāḍu, in the Guntur district of Andhra, in December 1875. He was born in a family of the followers of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* school of *Vedānta*. The family had proprietory rights over two *agrahāras*. BRK lost his father when he was just six years old. He studied Sanskrit, under the guiadance of one of his relative Sitaramayya by name. From his childhood he was devoted to the deity Hayagrīva. He used to worship Hayagrīva Śāligrāma, which was later installed by him in the Ramāvallabha temple of his village. It is told that once the Lord Hayagrīva Himself appeared in his vision and initiated him in to the Hayagrīvamantra. After some days, he began to study Sanskrit independently, without the regular guidance of any teacher. His understanding capacity was so tremendous, that he used to study the classical Sanskrit works and teach them immediately to the students, giving interpretations ab novo. At his behest Rāma Śāstri and Subrahmaṇya Śāstri of West Godavari district taught him Grammar and Logic respectively. Within a short time, he mastered Paṇini's grammar and wrote a lucid commentary *Śaradrātri* on *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. At the request of his teachers, he wrote a beautiful commentary '*Manthara*' on the '*Bhāgavata Campū* of Cidambara Kavi.

He also developed interest in Vedānta and studied for himself works like *Śāṅkara-Bhāṣya* on *Gītā*, *Pañcadaśī*, etc. He gave novel and convincing

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interpretations to many a text. His explanation of a verse in *Pañcadaśī*[1], was applauded by Śrī Narasiṁha Śāstrī, a famous Advaitin of Andhra in those days. He also used to give discussions on *Gītā*. His explanations were later published in a book called '*Bhagavadgītā-bhāṣyārkaprakāśikā*.' His views and explanations were very much appreciated by Sri Ādibhaṭṭa Rāmamūrti Śāstri, who was known as '*Apara Gautama*'.

His proclivity towards Advaita in general and towards Śaṅkara's views in particular, was quite amazing to many of his Viśiṣṭādvaita friends. He had rational views about philosophy and did not do anything, simply because tradition has sanctified it. For example, when he was refused by his Family Teacher to adopt *Samāśrayaṇa*, he agreed to it and was along willing to be initiated into the *aṣṭākṣara mantra*, refused to brand his body with hot *mudrās* (*taptacakrāṅkaṇa*). He argued that, that practice need not be followed by the Brāhmaṇas, and gave copious references to *śruti* and *smṛti* passages in defence.

He studied Yoga and practised various *āsanas* meticulously. He had mastered different types of Prāṇāyamas. He performed penance before the shrine of *Lakṣmīnarasiṁha* at Vedādri (Vijayawada). He meditated on various *mantras* and had *japa* of them for lakhs of times. He could get rid of some of diseases, coming from chidhood, by means of the *āsanas*. In the earlier decades of twentieth century, the twin poets, Tirupati-Veṅkaṭa Kavi, were very well known in Andhra. They used to perform '*Avadhānas*', i. e., composing verses in quick time, on the subjects given following the instructions of the listeners. They were adept in the art of *Samasyāpūraṇa* also. Some scholars urged BRK to suggest a difficult *samasyā* to the poets when they visited Nararsaraupet. Reluctantly enough, BRK gave a *samasyā*[2] in a time, which was rejected by the poets as containing grammatical errors. A good deal of dispute, with arguments and counter-arguments engaged the attention of many scholars in those days. The contention of BRK was the *Upasarga*, enjoined by Paṇini's, *sūtra* 3.1.136, is not enjoined by the next *sūtra*. Hence the forms '*paśya* etc. without *upsarga* to the root √*dṛṣṭi* are also correct. His arguments

1. विकल्पो निर्विकल्पस्य सविकल्पकस्य वा भवेत् ।
आद्ये व्याहृतिरन्यत्रानवस्थात्माश्रयादयः ॥
2. पश्यापश्यौ न पश्यतः ।

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were later collected in books—'*Pañcānanapalāyanam*' and *Guñjāgarvabhaṅgam*'. He gave eighteen different ways of completing the *samasyā*-verse following *Kaumudī* and *Kāśikā* schools. His critical acumen was admired by the twin poets later on. He was however equally well-versed in composing elegant, embellished poetry and displayed his erudition in various branches of Sanskrit learning in the well known commentaries on certain classical and philosophical works. He died young, at the age of thirty-nine only (October 1914). Some scholars tried to publish his works, but still many of them remain unpublished. Some of his important compositions are as follows:

(1) *Śrīkṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī*—

This is *Mahākāvya*, depicting the earlier life of Kṛṣṇa and his love sport with the Gopīs. He has kept the Telugu *Bhāgavata* of Potanā as his ideal. As in *Mahākavyas*, the descriptions are elaborate, and the *alaṁkāras* are enormous. It is divided into eight *Taraṅgas*. The *yamaka* is the fortè of this poet and we find hundreds of different *yamakas*, fashioned after the Telugu *prāsa*-style in this work.

(2) *Samudramanthanacampū*—

The famous legend of churning the ocean is woven in a *campū* style. In fact this incorporates two works together—*Ramāpariṇaya-Campū* and *Garuḍa-Sandeśa*. The author has written his own commentory '*Hṛdayānandikā* on it.

(3) *Rukmiṇīpariṇayacampū*—

This work deals with marriage of Rukmiṇī and Kṛṣṇa, as described in *Bhāgavata*. He has described the same story in *Śrīkṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī* also. The poet has displayed his close aquaintance with the works of Kālidāsa in this work. He has introduced the wedding *maṅgalāṣṭakas* (verses sung at the time of the wedding *muhūrta*) in eighth Vilāsa. He has employed many *citrabandhas* and *yatiprāsas* in the seventh one. His style can be characterized as *Gauḍī Rīti* and the diction compared with *Nārikelapāka*.

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(4) *Manthara*:

This is a commentary on *Bhāgavata Campū*, written by Cidambara Kavi. The commentary bears testimony to BRK's scholarship and his perspiculous exegesis. He gives almost all possible meanings, relevant to context. the clarity of such passages is remarkable.

He also points out the various *alaṁkāra* in the text giving their propriety.[1] He has substantiated his glosses by quoting profusely from Pāṇini, *Amarakośa*, *Gītā* and many other standard works. As a scholar of Vedātna and Bhakti Literature, he has given alternative meanings appropriate to the Vedantic interpretation. His explanations of *Daśānana* on 'mind' and various meanings given to the apithet '*Vanacara* in his commentary on IV. 129 are quite interesting.

Among his *stotra* works a mention may be made of his voluminous work the '*Hayagrīvaśataka*' where every verse begins with the letter '*ha*'. In his own '*Viṣṇusahasranāma*', every epithet begins with the syllable '*vi*'.

Among his philosophical treatises, his '*Vedānta Saṁgraha*' and '*Advaitāmṛta*' are like *Prakaraṇa* works. Though he had high regard for Anandagiri, he has refuted his views on many occasions. His main argnment is that *Prakṛti* is the source of both *Māyā* and *Avidyā*. *Māyā* is the essence of pure *sattva*, whi e *Avidyā* is that of impure *sattva*. *Avidyā* is connected with Buddhi, whereas *Māyā* is *īśvara buddhi*. His interpretation of the first *sūtra* of the *Brahmasūtras* is quite lengthy. He has given about one hundred connotations, of '*Ataḥ*'.

In another work *Śaṅkarāśaṅkarabhāṣyavimarśa* he has brought out some of his views, with proper citations and arguments—

(a) *Pūrvamīmansā* is quite different from *Uttaramīmānsā* or *Vedānta*.

(b) That Brahman is attributeless can be proved by a logical syllogism.[3]

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3. ब्रह्मनिर्विशेषम्, सुषुप्त्यादिषु ब्रह्मणि कस्यापि विशेषस्यादर्शनात् व्यतिरेकेण घटवत् ।'

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(c) All the attributes cannot be present in the Brahman at all times.

(d) Ignorance is positive (*bhāvarūpa*) in nature. He has cited many verses from *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *Bhāgvata Purāṇa*, *Sūtasaṁhitā* etc.

(e) *Tattvamasi* yields to many other interpretations, apart from the one of *jahadajahallakṣaṇā*.

His *magnvm opus* is '*Gītābhāṣyārkaprakāśikā*, which runs into 1747 pages of crown-quarto size. This book is full of *Advaitic* arguments, refutations of Rāmānuja's interpretations and scriptural supports for the interpretations of Śaṁkara. A special mention may be made of his refutation of the '*Śeṣāśesibhāva*' argument of Rāmānuja. He has also criticized the view that the *Gītā* begins with the verse II. 12[4].

Apart from these, he has written many *kāvyas*, *stotras* and *prakaraṇa* treatises. This brief survey of his important works, may give a glimpse of the erudite scholarship and art of polemics of Bellamkonda Rāmarāya, a little known scholar of twentieth century Andhra. This article, I hope, may create interest in the scholars to study his works thoroughly.

●

4. Moreover, he supports the spliting *anādimat paraṁ brahma* of Śaṅkara, criticising that of *anādi matparaṁ brahma* by assigning many cogent reasons.

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C. B. PANDEY, New Delhi:

# THE BREAK-UP AND FALL OF THE MAURYAN EMPIRE
## —A Reappaisal

"From Bimbisāra to the Kaliṅga war, the history of India was the story of expansion of Magadha from a tiny state in South Bihar to gigantic empire extending from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil Country. After Kaliṅga war ensued a period of stagnation at the end of which the process is reversed. The empire gradually dwindled down in extent till it sank to the position from which Bimbisāra and his successors had raised to".[1] Much ink has been spilt in tracing out the various causes of the disintegration and consequent fall of the Magadha empire, as also if the disintegration and fall, with special reference to the Mauryan empire could be ascribed to Aśoka. An attempt is made here to critically make an appraisal of Aśoka's share. It will not be out of place to proceed with objectivity and record the actual happenings in Aśoka's time.

**A. Political Events:**

(*a*) *The Bactrian Revolt*: The spacious Asiatic dominion consolidated by Seleukos Nikator came in the hands of his grandson, Antiochus Theos, in the year 262-1 B. C. Towards the close of his regin his empire suffered two grievious losses, by the revolt of the Bactrians under the leadership of Diodotus, and of the Parthians under that of Arsake. Diodotus, a satrap of the Bactrian province threw off the overlordship and established an independent kingdom with some portion on this side of the Indian border, and this revolt was a rebellion of the ordinary oriental type, as SMITH has rightly remarked. The success of both the revolts was facilitated by the war of succession which disturbed the

1. H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI, *Political History of Ancient India* (4th Edition), p. 327.

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Seleukidan monarchy after the death of Antiochus Theos. The details of the evidence of JUSTIN[2] for the dates of the two rebellions have been examined repeatedly by many scholars. The date of the Bactrian revolt is 246 B. C. and that of the Parthian (a controversial problem) ranges from 250 B. C. to 248-7 B. C. Now it may be noted that these great events took place in the reign of Aśoka. It may further be recalled that the region of Bactria touches Paropanisadae, one of the provinces which Seleukos Nikator had to cede to Chandragupta Maurya when a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the former by the latter in C. 305 B. C. The cession of the territory in consequence of the *epigamia* has never been doubted. The ceded territory comprised a large portion of Ariana itself, a fact ignored among others even by TARN. The evidence of Strabo, for what it is worth, probably points to the cession by Seleukos Nicator, of a large part of Iranian tableland, besides the riparian provinces on the Indus.[3] It is a question for thorough consideration if the Bactrian, not to talk of the Parthian, revolt affected the ceded territory of the Indian empire in the reign of As'oka. TARN[4] has flatly denied Paropanisadae as having been ceded to Chandragupta Maurya saying: "Paropanisadae was not among the provinces ceded by Seleukos to Chandragupta", he regards it as historical absurdity of unknown origin, although before this champion of Hellenism was the evidence of Pliny, VI. 69. TARN's stand is very clever because Paropanisadae touches Bactria by Hindukush range.

It will be out of place to analyse this problem in detail, but suffice it here to say that if there is any grain of truth, as obviously there is, there seems no scope but to charge Aśoka for his not properly making full arrangements for defending the borders of the Mauryan empire in the north-west.

(*b*) *Invasions*: Kalhaṇa, the Kashmir historian, has reproduced from early accounts the story of Jalauka, a son of Aśoka, who is said to have freed his country from an invasion of the *Mlecchas*. The story, for how much credence we give to Kalhaṇa in this matter, presupposed a *Mleccha* (obviously Greek invasion in the context) occupation of Kashmir even earlier to Jalauka, to say it otherwise, probably in the closing period of

2. JUSTIN, *Book* XLI, Chapter 4.
3. RAYCHAUDHURI, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
4. W. W. TARN, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 100.

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the reign of Aśoka. If Kuṇāla is the same as Jalauka of Kalhaṇa, as Romila THAPAR[5] puts it, and who is said to have ruled for eight years according to the *Purāṇas*, then our above surmise is not unlikely, for otherwise we will have to suppose that once Kuṇāla lost the territory and later on recouped his strength to free the country from *Mlecchas*. In any case *Mleccha* invasion is not unlikely. Another Greek invasion is hinted by Polybius,[6] who while discribing the march of Antiochus, the great, of Syria, records that "crossing the Caucasus he discended into India and renewed his alliance with Saphagasenus, the Indian King. Here, he procured more elephants so that his total force of them amounted now to hundred and fifty, set out himself with his army, leaving Androsthenese of Cyzieus to collect the treasure which the king had agreed to pay." This event has been interpreted[7] as renewal of the princely relations that had prevailed between Seleukos and the Mauryans since the days of the founders of both the lines. It may be noted that Subhagasena is described as a King and not as a petty cheif of the Kabul Valley as SMITH has made us believe. RAYCHAUDHURI[8] is right when he regards Subhagasena as an independent King. He is called the "King of the Indians, a title which was applied by the classical writers to great kings like Chandragupta and Demetrius. There is nothing in the accounts of Polybius to show that he was vanquished by the Syrian king in war or was regarded by the latter as a subordinate ruler. On the contrary, the statement that Antiochus renewed his friendship (or alliance) with Subhagasena, king of the Indians, proves that the two monarchs met on equal terms and friendly relations were established, between them. Further the expression renewal of friendship seems to suggest that Subhagasena had previous dealings with Antiochus." This shows that this part of the Mauryan empire had already become independent before 206 B. C. "The existence of an independent kingdom in the North-West before 206 B. C. shows that Mauryan empire must have begun to break up nearly a quarter of a century before the usurpation by Puṣyamitra".[9] This area, it may be noted, had already revolted, according to *Divyāvadāna*, in the reigns of Bindusāra and Aśoka.

5. Romila THAPAR, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, p. 189.
6. *Histories* XI, Vol. IV (Loeb Classical Lib. Series, translated by W. R. PATON), p. 303.
7. RAYCHAUDHURI, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-301; TARN, *op. cit.*, p. 130 and 150; *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 246.
8. RAYCHAUDHURI, *op. cit.*, p . 362.
9. *Loc. cit.*

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(c) *The Rise of the Sātavāhanas*: There is a keen controversy about the date of beginning of the Sātavāhana empire. The present author[10] has discussed this problem in quite considerable details elsewhere and it has been pointed out that among the scholars who attempted at the chronology of the Sātavāhanas, almost all (except few like BHANDARKAR and RAYCHAUDHURI) accepted the beginning of this mighty empire in the third century B. C. The present author for definite reasons is inclined to place it in C. 235 B. C. We know that in Aśoka's edicts the Andhras were reckoned among the tribes and nations meant by his expression *vijita* and perhaps, were subjects to the imperial command. The withdrawal of the strong arms of Aśoka, the silencing of the *bherīghoṣa* by his sound of *dhammaghoṣa* must have been a signal for the Sātavāhanas for taking full advantage of the opportunity given by the circumstances towards the close of Aśoka's reign or possibly even before its close, to assert their independent power under the government of a king named Śimuka and the newly established empire extended its sway with such extraordinary rapidity that in the reign of the second king, Kṛṣṇa (Kanha), the town of Nasik near the source of Godāvarī in the Western *ghāṭas* was included in the Sātavāhana dominion. This empire was definitely carved out of what was once a mighty empire under Aśoka.

**B. Causes of the Fall of the Mauryan Empire:**

(a) *Aśoka's Religious Policy*: Scholars, while discussing the various causes of the break-up and consequent fall of the empire have spilt much ink on the religious policy of the Buddhist monarch Aśoka. It has been pointed out by few scholars that the Dharma presented in the Rock Edicts of Aśoka takes its stand upon the common ground of all religions, that it is another name for moral and virtuous life, that Aśoka's Dharma is broadbased upon the principle of tolerance, that it offers a scheme of active co-operation (*samavāya*) among all sects for their growth in essential matters (*sāravadhi asa sava pāsaṁdānam*, R. E. II), that there should be no condemnation of other sects etc. No doubt that these are the practical codes of conduct found as essentials of all religions, as also of Buddhism. But much stress had been laid and scholars have laboured hard to prove the universal character of Aśoka's religion or the religion

10. C. B. PANDEY, *Āndhra Sātavāhana Sāmrājya Kā Itihāsa* (1963), Introduction, pp- 11-12.

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of As'oka's edicts. We know that Aśoka admits that all sects aim at self-restraint and purification of heart (R. E. VII), that practices of Dharma which he is preaching are practically the same as those inculcated by other sects (R.E. VIII), that all people should love to listen to one another's Dharma, that Aśoka desires that his *Dharma-mahāmātras* must promote the temporal and spiritual wealth of all sects. While admitting all these, we should not forget two important things. First, it is too much to exclude these codes of morality from the totality of religion preached by the rock-edicts, nay in fact the totality of Aśoka's life and misson as a whole. Secondly much consideration should be given to prevalence of many other sects in the Mauryan empire. As regards our first point, it may be noted that Aśoka was a Buddhist; in fact he declares the stages of his progress towards Buddhism and at one place as a *Śākya* or *Buddha-Śākya* (M. R. E. I Maski and Rupnath) his attachment towards Buddhist symbols in inscribing the Rock-edicts, his son Mahendra and daughter Saṁghamitrā being sent as Buddhist missionaries, his speaking with an air of authority over the church pointing out several passages from Buddhist scriptures to be recited and meditated not only by monks but also by laity, his declaration of faith in the Buddhist trinity, his standing as defender of Buddhist *saṁgha* and proclaiming penalty for schism, his holding the Buddhist council under the presidency of Moggaliputta Tissa to difine the cannons and protecting the Buddhist *saṁgha* from impending schism, his observance of Uposatha or Buddhist holidays (P.E.V), his appointment of *Dharma-mahāmātras* to look after the interest of the *saṁgha* (saṁgha-thasi) as distinctly specified and not for their supervision as implied by the expression used for other sects (P. E. VII), his pilgrimage to Buddhist sacred places specially to Mṛgadāva (Sarnath with his queen), his monkhood according to one tradition at the close of his reign as also indicated by the words '*saṁghe upagate*' (M. R. E. I) –all point to only one conclusion that Aśoka was a Buddhist, his activities were channelised towards the protection and propagation of Buddhist Order and Buddhism. Negatively, there is not a single evidence that Aśoka ever tried to call the council to organize or to define the cannons of other sects, or he undertook pilgrimages to the places sacred to other sects. The universal character of his edicts would have been an admitted fact, had he not preached exclusively Buddhist scriptures to laity. Were there not scriptures of other sects to the same effect? The arguments may be multiplied. Suffice is here to say that his activities should be judged exclusively against the Buddhist background. As regards our second point,

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we know that in the realm of Aśoka all classes and sects of people resided. Their conversion would have been an impossible task. The greatness of Aśoka's genius exhibited itself in encouraging *Dharma* through the phraseology and ideology of the different living sects. This showed the people their way according to their lights, but the way was the Buddhist way. He wanted through his edicts the promotion, infiltration, percolation of Buddhism. And it may not be denied for his purpose that Aśoka's edicts were real source of inspiration to the people.

Now, against this background we may consider the ban on the *Samājas*,ceremonies, his attitude of regarding everybody on equal terms (though really elevated in character from the point of view of social and administrative justice as also of humanism), and these radical innovations through administrative machinery were bound to have social impact. The effects of such radical measures, however just and human they may be, are bound to arouse some feeling among the common masses, who for various reasons are not able to appreciate them properly, and as much these radical measures are reacted. One thing may be noted in this context that Aśoka's tone of preaching and banning these customs is quite in conformity with other Buddhist preachers right from the days of the Buddha. It was a common practice among the Buddhists to preach the uselessness of petty ceremonies, the sacrifices, the authority of the Vedas, sanctity of fire and the privileged position of a section of society i. e., the Brāhmaṇas. The early Pāli literature is full of such preachings. To go into the details of such preachings, their socio-religious background is a different story and discussions here will be out of place. The present author[11] has discussed the subject elsewhere in detail. Suffice it here to say that these radical religious, social and administrative innovations must have been, and obviously were, Buddhist tone of reactions of the existing established (Brahmanical) social norms. And above all, the Brāhmaṇa class with all their established privileges must have been angry on Aśoka's insisting upon all his officers to strictly observe the principle *Dharmasamatā* and *Vyavahārasamatā*, i. e., equality of punishment and equality in law suits (irrespective of caste, colour and creed). The very prospect, as one scholar has very aptly remarked, "ofbeing huddled to-

11. C. B. Pandey, ***Post-Mauryan Counter-Revolution and Reconstruction—A Socio-Religious Study*** **(Ph. D. Thesis).**

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gether in prison alongwith untouchables, whipped, impaled alive and hanged must have been very offensive to the highly privileged communities. They must have tolerated the inequalities heaped on them as long as the strong hand of As'oka was guiding the empire......They were sullen and discontented. As soon as the strong hand was removed they seemed to have stood against his successors".

And as a matter of fact the Buddhist legend of Tiṣyarakṣitā, for what it is worth, of her being resentful of Aśoka's interest in Buddhism, and her cutting the Bodhi tree and blinding Aśoka's son, Kuṇāla (if taken metaphorically, as one scholar takes it) from Buddhism, exhibit the resentment and reaction of a class of people expressed in Tiṣyarakṣitā. If any historical importance is attached to this legend, as there is nothing to doubt it, then it seems apparent, that Brahmanical reaction started even in As'oka's time, nay, in his family itself. And under circumstances, it does not seem at all unlikely that the Brahmanical reaction, though bubbling in Aśoka's time aggravated itself by the emperor's exclusive missionary activities. This must have taken bigger shape to accumulate into a mighty support for Puṣyamitra Śuṅga when he took over the Mauryan empire by killing Bṛhadratha, the last Mauryan king. The incidents of Puṣyamitra's performance of Aśvamedha twice, coupled with the emphasis given in the post-Mauryan Brahmanical literature on the revival of Vedicism, authority of the Vedas, sanctity of fire etc., give credence to the supposition that Brahmanical reaction was aggravated by the over enthusiastic zeal of the missionary activities of Aśoka.

(*b*) *The Policy of Dharmavijaya*: Few lines regarding Aśoka's policy of Dharmavijaya will not be out of place. We know that the emperor declared that the most significant conquest is the conquest of Right and not of Might (R. E. XIII). The messages of his policy of Dharmavijaya went even to the unsubdued borders of the empire, and people were taken into confidence, not to be afraid of him as "silenced was the war drums, the *Bherīghoṣa* was drowned in the *Dharmaghoṣa*" (R. E. IV).

The arguments are put forward that Aśoka honestly tried to found his government on trust, that he sought to strengthen the bonds of internationalism through a cultural understanding without either disturbing the form of the Mauryan administration or impairing the military strength

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of the state.[12] One scholar says that "it seems pardonable to feel that his failure was worth more to humanity than the success of many others." But we have not to judge the policy of Dharmavijaya only from the point of view of the spread of internationalism or humanity, we have to judge the effects of this policy from the point of view of the Mauryan State and the Mauryan Empire.

RAYCHOUDHURI, is right when he pities As'oka that his army remained idle for three decades since the conclusion of war against Kaliṅga. Peculiarly enough one scholar has argued that Aośka did not issue order or at least there is no hint to this effect in his edicts, that he issued orders for demobilisation of all armies and settle down to a rule of non-violence in its literal sense.[13] Elucidating the points further the same scholar makes a pronouncment "that Aśoka was in a position to maintain pacific policy because his frontiers were secure and so was territory within his empire, that conquest of lands beyond Hindukush would have been foolhardy act on Aśoka's part placing his force in unnecessary danger campaining in deserts and mountains,"[14] that Aśoka trusted his conquest as politically inexpedient. This type of argumentation exhibits a lack of historical insight to analyse the situation and of the clouds gathering in the political fermament in the aiea beyond the frontiers as well as in Deccan, where powers were rising with new political horizons, with the rising of the Indo-Greeks and the Satavāhanas respectively. It is unintelligible how it was a foolhardy act on the part of Aśoka to place his armies in unnecessary danger to save a part of his empire lying beyond Hindukush as definitely it was at the time of Candragupta Maurya and for which there is absolutely no evidence that any part was ever lost in the time of Bindusāra, who was famous as *Amitraghāta*, i. e., destroyer of the enemies. Neither Aśoka's frontiers in the north-west were secure nor even the territory inside his empire, i. e., Deccan. "The effects of this change of policy" as aptly remarked by BHANDARKAR[15], "of the replacement of *vijaya* by Dharmavijaya were politically disasterous, though spiritually glorious". "The statesman who turned the civil administrators into religious propagandists, abolished hunting and jousts of arms, entrusted the fierce

12. B. M. BARUA, *Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, p, 355.
13. THAPAR, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
14. *loc. cit.*
15. D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Aśoka*, p. 258.

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tribesmen on the north-west frontier and in the wilds of the Deccan to the tender care of superintendents of piety and did not rest till the sound of the war drum was completely hushed and the only sound that was heard was that of moral teaching; certainly pursued a policy at which Candragupta Maurya would have looked askance,[16] specially when dark clouds were looming large in the north-western horizon and in the Deccan.

(c) *The Pressure on Mauryan Economy*: D. D. Kosambi has attributed the fall of the Mauryan empire on the pressure, alongwith others, on the Mauryan economy, the main arguments being that "the strain upon the economy is nevertheless visible in *Arthaśastra* which recommends extraordinary measures as need to replenish the treasury[17], that Cāṇakya himself was credited by medieval Ceylonese Buddhist commentator Dharmapāla with having added enough copper to make eight *Kārṣāpaṇas* out of one",[18] There seems to be much truth in the remarks of D. D. Kosambi, and the situation seems to be so, right from the very beginning of the establishment of the empire. Candragupta Maurya's military expeditions must have channelised the Mauryan treasury to flow lavishly in the direction of military expeditions and under circumstances it is not unlikely that Kauṭlya had to find out certain extraordinary methods like taxation on prostitutes and so on, to fill treasury. The situation did not improve even during As'oka's time. His military expedition in Kaliṅga, his philanthropic missions in the *Antas* i. e. five Greek kingdoms beyond the frontiers and the four monarchies of the Deccan, his missionary activities, his creation of the additional burden on Mauryan treasury by creating new type of officials like Dharmamahāmātras, Rajjukas etc., his establishment of new cities like Śrīnagar in Kashmir, and above all his gifts of money and land etc. to the monks of which he lauds himself even in his edicts and which also finds an echo in the Buddhist literary sources—all these must have laid heavy pressures on the already much pressurised Mauryan economy. The *Divyāvadāna*"[19], story has codsiderable historical weight when it relates the legend concerning As'oka's depletion of the imperial treasury in erecting *vihāras* and the *stūpas* and lavishly giving gifts to the *saṁgha*, nay, giving away the great earth (vast empire)

16. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 347.
17. D. D. Kosamabi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, p. 211.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
19. *Divyāvadāna*, XXIX, p. 430.

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in favour of the Buddhist church and the crown prince Sampadi (Samprati) put a stop to letting out any money from the treasury on the emperor's demand. BARUA[20] pays little stress to this story saying that "As'oka was not so foolishy extravagant in his charities as to behave like that." But by enthusiasm he exhibits in the matters of gifts - a fact which is recorded even in his edicts, it seems that the *Divyāvadāna* legend contains historical truth. The Buddhist source, of course, must have exaggerated the *Dānas* of As'oka but giving due margin to the whole story, the fact does not seem to be unlikely. On Fa-hien's testimony[21], this fact stands corroborated. According to him there was an As'okan column near Rājagṛha bearing inscription to commemorate the fact of As'oka's having bestowed the inhabited part of the world on the priesthood and taken (bought) it back from them with money on three occasions.

BARUA while rejecting the theory of fabulous expenditure on As'oka's building activities, argues, "In causing the four caves to be excavated in the Khalalika hills within a period of eight years, the *stūpas* of Buddhist Kanagama to be enlarged, a few other *stūpas* to be built and a number of monoliths to be erected, a huge some of money was not necessary". According to him such building activities were customary to the Indian kings and emperors. But the magnitude of As'oka's building activities has not properly been apnreciated by BARUA. If the legend of As'oka's treatment of Buddha's relics has any truth and which never has been doubted, and has doubtless been corroborated on the evidence of Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang, and if any credence is given to the legend of As'oka's erecting 84000 *stūpas* (giving of course a suitable margin), caves, monoliths with certainly superb introduction of a style of architecture on Indian soil, "with engineering enigma which defies solution", with stones taken from quarries of Chunar hills and columns erected at localities hundreds of miles away from the quarries (possibly all through manpower or Mauryan engineering skill), the construction and repair of Sudarśana lake in the Girnar hills-for all these it is really surprising that BARUA thinks that a huge sum of money was not necessary. In fact, there seems to be much truth in the theory that As'oka's treasury was very much pressurised which also finds echo in the *Divyāvadāna*, legend. As a matter of fact, even in As'oka's edicts there are at least

20. BARUA, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

21. GILES, *Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 48.

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two references which indirectly echo the same. We know that even generous and pious Buddhist monarch As'oka, could not exempt Lumbini village, the birthplace of the Buddha, entirely from taxes. He had to exact one-eighth of the land produce[22] in stead of the usual one-fourth prescribed by *Arthaśāstra*. Secondly in R. E. I it has been said that following the tradition of his father, As'oka continued to daily feed thousands of persons from the imperial kitchen. But he stopped this costly waste, it is really noteworthy under what financial pressure this pious Buddhist monarch bent upon preaching in his edicts the efficacy of *dāna*. had to regard *bhojana dāna* to the poor as costly waste and had to stop it. Keeping all these facts in view KOSAMBI's arguments that Mauryan economy was pressurised has indeed much truth in it.

But KOSAMBI's statement that Mauryan coinage bear testimoney to this in their debasement, does not seem to be true. As regards the debasement, of the coinage, it is true that coinage is effected by the economic pressure of the country and debasement follows as is evident in the case of the later Gupta coinage. In the normal course the same should hold good in the case of As'okan coinage also. The theory could have been examined, had the As'okan coinage been identified. But in this case the position is otherwise. It may be asked which particular punch-marked coins (copper or silver) is to be regarded as As'okan ? In fact KOSAMBI's argument is based on his own identification of the coins of the later Mauryans which is by no means certain. A very ingeneous theory[23] has been put forward by one scholar that there may have been some hoarding of the money by the merchants and commercial classes. This hoarding may have led to the debasement of coinage. About this piece of ingenuity, it may be asked whether hoarding was not a common norm with Indian merchants in all the periods of Indian history even when there was no or little debasement of coins.

(*d*) *Theory of Popular Revolt*: The theory of popular revolt was first hinted by MM. Haraprasad SASTRI,[24] Following him Dr. Niharranjan RAY's[25] assumption is that *coup d' etat* of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga was supported

22. *Cf.* Rummindei Pillar Inscription.
23. THAPAR, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
24. *JASB*, 1910, p 259 f.
25. Niharranjan RAY, *Maurya and Śuṅga Art*, p. 66.

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by a popular revolt against Mauryan oppression and a rejection of the Mauryan adoption of foreign ideas. As we have alrecady seen earlier that socio-religious conditions prevailing in the Mauryan times extend the possibility of a popular revolt. Elsewhere it has been shown by the present author[26] under what circumstances Puṣyamitra Śuṅga occupied the throne by killing Bṛhadratha, the last Mauryan King. It was the time when India's territorial integrity was in danger under the invasion led by the Indo-Greek King, Demetrius. The problem then was saving the country from foreign invasion, although the circumstances which offered themselves to Demetrius were military in nature and never social or popular. Puṣyamitra performed two As'vamedha sacrifices, but he never assumed the royal title. Wherever we get the reference of Puṣyamitra he is described as *Senānī* only. However, from the socio-religious circumstances which prevailed in the Mauryan period, the popular revolt is not unlikely, rather it is all the more possible seeing that the Brahmanical reaction against the prevailing socio-religious trend is visible in the contemporary literature.

(*e*) *The Weak Successors*: After the death of As'oka in c. 232 B. C., it took even less than half a century for the total fall of what was once a mighty empire. The process of disintegration as we have already seen had already started even in the time of As'oka. The Magadhan successors of As'oka had neither the strength nor perhaps the will to arrest the process of disruption".[27] "Das'aratha seems to have continued his grandfather's zealous propaganda and relied upon the virtue of Buddha's teachings to protect his dominions from foreign aggression. He reigned only for eight years."[28] As'oka[29] called upon his sons and grandsons to eschew the Dharmavijaya and avoid shedding of blood and take pleasure in forbearance and patience as far as possible.

As'oka's successors followed this will of As'oka's to last, till empire finally collapsed to the *coup d' etat* of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. The kings who succeeded to the imperial throne of Pāṭaliputra proved unequal to

26. C. B. Pandey, "Indo-Greek Invasion During the Time of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, *The Indian Numismatics Chronicle*, Vol. VII, Parts-I-II, pp- 45 ff.
27. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 365.
28. E. B. Havel, *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 119.
29. Pillar Edict VII, Rock Edict XIII.

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the task of maintaining the integrity of the mighty fabric reared by the genius of Candragupta and Cāṇakya[30] though there is not much truth in SMITH's remark that "descendants of As'oka whose names recorded in the *Purāṇas* probably retained possession of only Magadha and neighbouring home provinces"[31] Although an empire generally does not fall for the fault committed by a single person, but if asked in the context of the Mauryan empire, if one man's policy was responsible for the fall of the Mauryan empire, there should be no hesitation in pointing out to As'oka. It may be asked who was responsible for giving sufficient administrative leniency to allow the Sātavāhanas to carve out their own principality in Deccan ? He again should be considered responsible for not taking proper heed to the rise of the independent kingdom in the northwest, i. e., Bactria. Who, on being offered opportunities and circumstances by the conditions on Indian soil very much had disturbed the peace and independence of this country for centuries ? Whose policy was responsible for not guarding properly and strongly the North-West frontiers and allowing any foreign potentate to exact money and elephants for his treasury and army ? Who was gravely mistaken when he supposed that he had won by his *Dharmavijaya* the Greek kingdoms beyond Hindukush and a host of people (R. E. XVIII) ? All these questions have only one answer, i. e., it was Aśoka.

Thus it may be seen from the above discussion that a situation became ripe for a political change, and when the Indo-Greek invasion took place in 188-187 B. C. it was easier for Puṣyamitra Śuṅga to bring this change by successful *coup d' etat* by killing Bṛihadratha, the last Mauryan king.

30. RAYCHAUDHURI, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

31. V. A. SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

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of misadministration, the evil genius of the empire being referred to as the genius of Candragupta and Cāṇakya,[30] though there is not much truth in Smith's remark that "descendants of As'oka whose names recorded in the Purāṇas probably retained possession of only Magadha and neighbouring home provinces"[31]. Although an empire generally does not fall for the fault committed by a single person, but if asked in the context of the Mauryan empire, if one man's policy was responsible for the fall of the Mauryan empire, there should be no hesitation in pointing out to As'oka. It may be asked who was responsible for giving sufficient administrative leniency to allow the Satavāhanas to carve out their own principality in Deccan? He again should be considered responsible for not taking proper heed to the rise of the independent kingdom in the northwest, i. e., Bactria. Who, on being offered opportunities and circumstances by the conditions on Indian soil very much had disturbed the peace and independence of this country for centuries? Whose policy was responsible for not guarding properly and strongly the North-West frontiers and allowing any foreign potentate to exact money and elephants for his treasury and army? Who was gravely mistaken when he supposed that he had won by his *Dharmavijaya* the Greek kingdoms beyond Hindukush and a host of people (R. E. XVIII)? All these questions have only one answer, i. e., it was Aśoka.

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30. Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 365.

31. V. A. Smith, op. cit., p. 204.

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Devangana DESAI, Bombay:

# MOTHER GODDESS AND HER PARTNER

The paper attempts to examine the relationship of the Mother goddess with her partner in ancient agricultural society and seeks to make some observations on this theme in the Indian context on available archaeological, literary and ethnological data. In the evolution of the cult, the Great goddess is associated with a male partner. But what is her relationship with her partner ? It is not the relationship of wife and husband as in the case of conjugal Divine pairs seen among the Indo-Europeans, but that of the superiority of the goddess to her insignificant lover. In the Minoan society, for instance, the Great goddess has a subordinate male partner who is her son or consort or both. As Robert BRIFFAULT (1927, p. 169) says, "The supremacy of the Great Mothers in agricultural religions is generally marked by their complete dissociation from the male supreme god". The goddess is the supreme figure and the male partner is her insignificant lover who plays the role of the begetter. He is not her 'husband' in the regular sense of the word. The goddess is the unwed Mother. She is the Virgin Mother. The 'virgin' as BRIFFAULT (pp. 169-70) tries to explain is not used in the modern sense of the term. In primitive and ancient societies it means 'free' and 'unwed'.

In mythologies of Western Asia and the Mediterranean region, we come across the Virgin goddess who is unwed but becomes the mother first of her companion by immaculate conception and then of gods, and of all life by the embrace of her own son (HOGARTH, *ERE*, I). In Asia Minor she is Cybele with Attis, in Egypt Isis with Horus, in Phoenicia Astarte with Tammuz (Adonis), in Greece Rhea with Zeus. Her sons and lovers are the spirits of season who die and are revived periodically (WESTON, 1957, pp. 53ff.)

James FRAZER (1963) giving a large corpus of material on the theme of the goddess and her partner from various cultures says that the god-

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dess of fertility was provided with a male partner and their union was believed to promote fruitfulness of the earth, of animals and of mankind. The sacred marriage was to be celebrated every year, the parts of the divine bride and the bridegroom being played either by their images or by living persons, who acted as surrogates of the goddess and her partner. Generally, the priestesses and prisests or strangers enacted the divine marriage. Mock decapitation of the male partner of the goddess was also practised, the relics of which are preserved in many cultures (WESTON, p. 64).

As far as prehistoric or protohistoric India is concerned, we not get direct archaeological evidence of the goddess with her male partner, but there are indirect clues on the theme. From the pre-Harappan Chalcolithic peasant communities of the middle of the third millenium B. C. at Zhob, Quetta and Kulli sites of Pakistan, we get numerous terracotta female figurines which were possibly used as votive offerings or were themselves representations of the Great goddess (STEIN, 1931; PIGGOT 1950). These figurines are pedestalled and are adorned with heavy necklaces. But there is no evidence of the male partner of the goddess from these pre-Harappan sites. There are, however, numerous bull figurines which may have been associated with the Mother goddess cult or may have been used in a bull cult.

As we come to the period of the urban Harappa culture (2 00-1500 B. C.) which is almost contemporary of the late levels of the Zhob andKulli sites, we can see the appearance of some male terracotta figures on the scene But their number is small compared to the large bulk of the female figurines. The male figurines are without any ornaments or decoration, whereas the female figurines are adorned with elaborate fan-like head-dress, heavy jewellery and lion cloth. In three steatite seals we can see a representation of a male god who was possibly the prototype of Śiva:Paśupati. He is shown as a three-headed or masked figure with horns sitting in ayogic posture and surrounded by animals (MARSHALL, p. 52, pl. XXII-17). But we do not know for certain whether the male gods of the Harappa culture were partners of goddess or whether they were independent deities. However, the cult of the goddess involving ritual sacrifice is evidenced in a steatite seal depiciting a plant-bearing goddess and a scene of sacrifice. A probable representation of the male partner of the goddess is seen in the seated male figures with hands clasped round the knees (MACKEY. 1938, p. 265,

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pl. LXXIV-14, 16). These terracotta figures bear close resemblance to the "sorrowful god" of Neolithic Europe described by Maria GIMBUTAS (1974, p. 230, pls. 251, 252). He could be a year-god of vegetation who was to be sacrificed in order to be reborn the following spring. Figurines of monkey or bear-faced masked goddess holding the baby in left arm are also found from the Harappan site of Mohenjo-Daro.

In the post-Harappan Chalcolithic cultures of Banas, Malwa and Jorwe in central India and the Deccan, we do not come across any definite evidence on the male partner of the goddess, though there are independent terracotta male and female figures. At Inamgaon in Maharashtra, the headless goddess assigned to *cir*. 1300 B. C. seems to have had bull as her *vāhana* (vehicle) as shown by SANKALIA (1971), which reminds us of the images to the Nude goddess with a bull at Vadgaon in Maharashtra and Bhinmal in southern Rajasthan in the historical period. Now gods were often represented in animal form or with the horns of the bull (FRAZER, p. 513, BRIFFAULT, pp. 189ff). So one wonders whether in this case the male principle had come in association with the goddess through theriomorphic or animal form. I am posing this question in the light of KOSAMBI's findings on the Mhasobā (buffalo) cult which came to be associated with the local Mother goddesses of Maharashtra (Deccan) with full devolpment of pastoral society (KOSAMBI, 1962). According to KOSAMBI (p. 90), none of the early goddesses have male consorts. "No father seemed to be necessary to the society in which they originated". Next step is shown by marriage to some male god like Mhasobā or Mahiṣāsura (buffalo) who was the god of immigrant shepherds. The goddesses Jogubāi or Yogeśvarī, i. e. Durgā, is married to Mahiṣāsura, whom she also kills.

In this connection one is reminded of the story of the Roman goddess Vesta whose virginity was saved from the assaults of the rustic god Prianus by the timely interference of an ass—who was the representative of that god himself. BRIFFAULT (1927, p. 170) says, "the association of the goddess with the ass-god was not, however, entirely effaced; on a fresco in Pompeii, the Italian Virgin mother is represented riding an ass and bearing the Divine Child in her arms."

The direct archaeological evidence of the Mother goddess and her male partner in a single composition is seen in India in the historical period in about 3rd-2nd century B. C. in a ring-stone or disc of Rupar

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in Panjab, a stone plaque from Kausambi in Uttar Pradesh and a steatite plaque from Rajgir in Bihar (Desai, 1975, p. 11-12). Here we see a steatopygous nude female with a male partner. That this steatopygous figure was associated with a cult of goddess is clear from her representations in numerous ring-stones found from Eastern and Northern India (Pramod Chandra, 1971). The cult of this steatopygous or opulent goddess was prevalent from Bihar to Punjab in the 3rd-2nd century B. C. She was associated with several animals like deer, lion, horse, elephant and birds, lotus, palm tree and a crescent moon. The palm tree suggests West Asiatic influence. Her association with the crescent moon and wild beasts could be related to the Nana-Artemis-Diana group of fertility goddess. This opulent goddess is also represented in gold amulets which were found at Lauriya and Piprahawa in Eastren India. Now, in the ring-stone from Rupar in Northern India, we see a male partner offering a cup or some round object to the goddess, who is shown nude with the exposed public triangle and standing in equiposed (*samabhaṅga*) posture. To her right is a shrine made of leaves. On the extreme left is a fully clad female seen in her profile with hair arranged in a plait, who receives some object from the male sitting on her left. She could be a human representative (temple-prostitute or priestess) who enacted the role of the goddess in fertility rites. In the Rajgir plaque, which is divided into three compartments, the drama is more detailed. In the top scene, the female is shown dancing while the male plays a musical instrument. Both are fully clad. In the middle scene, the partner offers her a cup (of wine). A jar can be seen nearby. In the lower compartment the goddess stands in equipoised posture and her partner propitiates her by offering her a cup. Both are shown nude. What is noteworthy is that in both the Rajgir and Rupar objects, the goddess is shown superior to her partner who tries to please her. Moreover, we can see here an evidence of music-playing, dancing and wine drinking in association with the goddess cult.

The evidence on the theme of the Supreme goddess and her son/partner is preserved in Indian literature also. In the *Devī Bhāgavata*, *Devī Purāṇa* and the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, we see the Supreme goddess as primeval energy, who gives birth to the three gods: Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, by immaculate conception. Then she divides herself into three aspects, Mahāsarasvatī, Mahālakṣmī and Mahākālī and has her respective sons as her consorts (Bhattacharya, N. N., 1974). Elsewhere, the

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god Rudra (Śiva) is called Tryambaka, meaning "one who has three mothers", viz., Ambā, Ambikā and Ambālikā. Ambikā is also called Rudra's sister in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (2.6.2.9). Ambā is generally known as the consort of Rudra-Śiva.

Survivals of the fertility rites associated with the goddess and her partner are preserved in many regions of India even today. We will give just two examples. The myth of the Dulhādeva, the young bridegroom, who is wedded to the Earth goddess and slain in the midst of marriage rites, reminds us of the sacrifice of the corn spirit and also reflects the same ritualistic purpose. Dulhādeva is met with in the complex of religious beliefs and practices of central India and the southern part of Uttar Pradesh. He is very popular among the Śabaras of Bundelkhand (RUSSELL and HIRALAL, 1976; GHURYE, 1963).

The theme of the goddess and her partner is seen again in the famous temple of Kāmākhyā in Assam. Where the goddess was married to *bhogīs*, who were considered human surrogates of god Śiva. They were treated as sacred and everything, including women, was put at their disposal. They were sacrificed at the annual festival of the goddess. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* devotes a chapter on their decapitation, and also mentions that the victim incarnated Śiva himself (GAIT, 1926; ELIADE, 1958). This reminds us of the tantric paintings and *dhyāna mantras* in which the powerful goddess Kālī is represented standing on the body of her consort Śiva. The archaic religious elements of early agricultural society continue to survive in civilized society.

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Jutta JAIN-NEUBAUER, Ahmedabad:

# ICONOGRAPHY OF SCULPTURES IN WATER-MONUMENTS OF GUJARAT[1]

Water-places and water-monuments have played an important role in the development of the ancient and mediaeval architecture of Western India, specially in Gujarat. These water-monuments, be it a pond (*kuṇḍa*), a natural lake bound by architectural construction or an artificial lake (*taḍāga, taḍāka*), or a stepwell (*vāpi, vāpī*) were often connected with the places of worship. Some stepwells, such as Jñāna Vāv in Visavadar near Porbandar, were a part of the temple-complex, whereas others, such as Mātā Bhavāni Vāv in Ahmedabad, Sindhvāī Mātā Vāv in Patan, Aṅkol Mātā Vāv in Davad, have shrines installed inside. Ponds or lakes, like Sūryakuṇḍa in Modhera or Sahasraliṅga tālāo in Patan, are surrounded by a number of small shrines on their banks. The sacredness of the water-places is emphasised by the various types of rituals performed on the banks of ponds or inside the stepwells. I have observed that in the stepwell of Adalaj village (near Ahmedabad) the ritual of *cheḍā-cheḍī* was performed in front of the sculpture of Durgā in the sidewall of the stepwell. This ritual of *cheḍā-cheḍī* is to be performed any time after the marriage ceremony by bride and bridegroom in front of the *kuladevī*, i. e., the family deity of the bridegroom. In this ritual the knot, by which the veilcloth of the bride and the shoulder-cloth of the bridegroom was tied at the time of the marriage ceremony, is opened by the priest in front of the deity. In this case this ritual was performed for a Koli bride and bridegroom in front of the sculpture of Durgā, represented in this stepwell in her symbolic form as lion on whom a *triśūla*, intercepted with eyes, is mounted. The significance of this ritual lies in the conversion of the

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physical binding of bride and bridegroom by the knot into a permanent binding sanctified by the deity. Other rituals are performed by girls and women as daily worship with offerings of coconut and milk, etc., in order to obtain progeny, as I had observed in Mīnal stepwell of Virpur (Saurashtra) in 1977. It was because of this sort of ritual significance that the water-monuments were in most cases elaborately beautified with attached small shrines and pavilions. ornamented with intricate carvings at pillars, side-walls, balconies and galleries and other structural parts. In niches and shrines sculptures of gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon were installed. Even the nomenclature of most of the stepwells incorporates such concepts as *mātā*, for example Mātā Bhavānī Vāv in Ahmedabad, Aṅkol Mātā Vāv in Davad, Sindhvāī Mātā Vāv in Patan.

Also in the canonical scriptures it is prescribed that a water-place should be located near a temple, for example: "In places without tanks, gods are not present. A temple therefore should be built, where there is a pond on the left, or in the front, not otherwise."[2] The secular and utilitarian nature of a water-place as being the source of water for daily and household needs, is converted into the object of religious merit for the person who patronised the construction of a pond or well. The *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* says: "One who digs a well (for the public), has (the consequence of) half of his sins absolved, when the water has begun to flow forth; one who dedicated a pond is for ever happy (free from thirst), and attains the world of Varuṇa".[3]

The most important water-monuments, from the sculptural and iconographical point of view, are the ponds at Modhera and Kapadvanj, and the stepwells of Patan, Visavadar, Sathamba, Kalesvari ni Nal. Unfortunately there are only few remains left of the Sahasraliṅga talāo in Patan, which once upon a time must have been a splendid complex with a number of shrines encircling the artificial lake.

The most important literary sources giving some description about the iconography and the location of sculptures in a water-monument are the *Aparājitapṛcchā*, and the *Viśvakarmā-Vāstuśāstra*. Other texts, like the *Mayamata*, or the *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, mention at various places ponds, lotus-ponds, wells, stepwells or articficial lakes, but these are

2. S. Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, reproduced (New Delhi, 1977), Vol. I. p. 5 quoting *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, ch. XLIII, 25-31.
3. *Ibid*., Vol. I, p. 91.

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rather passing and superficial references mainly concerning the location in the context of villages, houses, or palatial buildings for the king ,but do not give a detailed description.

In the *Aparājitapṛcchā*, written around the end of the 12th century in Gujarat by Bhuvanadeva, a full chapter is devoted to the description of water-monuments dealing with wells, stepwells, ponds and artificial lakes (chapt. 74).[4] Referring to ponds (*kuṇḍa*) it mentions that niches (*gavākṣa*) should be installed there. These niches should contain images of numerous deities such as Śrīdhara ('bearer of wealth', i. e. Viṣṇu), Jalaśāyin (Viṣṇu as reclining on the snake Ananta in the eternal ocean), Varāha (third incarnation of Viṣṇu), the 11 Rudras (manifestations of Śiva), Durvāsā (a sage), Gaṇanāyakas ('chiefs of the *gaṇas*', who are Śiva's attendents and a class of subordinate godlings), Kṣetrapāla (guardians of the regions), Bhairava (form of Śiva), Umāmaheśvara (Śiva and his consort Umā or Pārvatī), Kṛṣṇa (eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu), Śaṅkara (form of Śiva). Daṇḍapāṇi (Yama), Caṇḍikā (form of goddess Durgā), Bhallasvāmī ('lord of auspiciousness', i. e., Śiva), Bhāskara (Sūrya or the sun), Harihara (combined form of Viṣṇu and Śiva), the 12 Ādityas (a class of gods representing the sun in its 12 months of the year), the 12 Gaṇādhipas (lords of the *gaṇa*), the three Agnis (sacrificial fires), the Dikpāla and Lokapāla (presiding deities of the directions), the eight *mātṛkās* (mother-goddesses). Gaṅgā, and Navadurgā (Durgā in her nine forms).

As compared to this rather lengthy list of sculptures to be installed in a water-monument, the description in the *Viśvakarmā-Vāstuśāstra* appears rather brief and general.[5] Here it only mentions that sculptures of gods (*deva-mūrti*) and ornamentation in the form of *kinnara* (heavenly beings) are to be made in a stepwell. The commentary to this verse (no. 9) gives a slightly more detailed explanation of the meaning of the text, when it adds that images of *mithuna* (couples) should be made and it specifies the idols of gods that are to be installed (*bimbasthāpana*) as 'Varuṇa and other gods'.

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4. *Aparājitapṛcchā* of Bhuvanadeva, ed. Popatbhai A. Mankad, *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, no. CXV (Baroda, 1950), ch. 74.

5. *Viśvakarmā-Vāstuśāstra*, ed. Vasudeva Shastri, *Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Series* no. 85, (Tanjore, 1958), ch. 33.

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In addition to these theoretical texts, a unique and detailed evidence regarding sculptures in a water-monument came to light. The inscription of Kantela village near Porbandar, dated saṁvat 1320[6] mentions that the Governor of Gujarat, Samanta Siṁha, repaired the Revatī kuṇḍa situated on the seashore near Dwarka and he embellished it with sculptures of Śiva, Viṣṇu (in his form as Jalaśāyin), Ganeśa, Kṣetrapāla, Sūrya, Caṇḍikā, Revatī (wife of Balarāma), and Balarāma. It is evident that the Governor has followed the eixsting clsssical tradition with regards to the variety of sculptures in a water-monument. The installation of Gaṇeśa, the god of all auspicious undertakings, and that of Viṣṇu as Śeṣaśāyin seems to have been a rule for any kind of water-monument, as it is also mentioned in the inscription. The other sculptu.es mentioned in the inscription, with the exception of Revatī and Balarāma, are also found in the *śilpaśāstra* text, like Kṣetrapāla, Sūrya, Caṇḍika. A legend[7] tells us that at Dwarka, Balarāma, the brother of Kṛṣṇa married Revatī and the Revatī kuṇḍa was built at this very sacred spot for the devotees of Kṛṣṇa, because it is also connected with the legend of Revatī and Balarāma. This legend made it an obligation for Samanta Siṁha to install images of Balarāma and Revatī into the *kuṇḍa*, images which are not specifically mentioned in the classical text, but only qualify this Revatī kuṇḍa at Dwarka.

How far these texts were actual guidelines for the builders and sculptors, cannot as yet be ascertained, till when a more detailed and close study of the relationship of the textual evidence and the data from the actual monuments is made. The Sūryakuṇḍa, situated to the East of the sun temple in Modhera, is one monument which seems to follow very closely the descriptions of the relevant text, i. e., the *Aparājita-pṛcchā*. The rectangular pond is ornamented with one shrine each in the eastern, southern and northern wall, one shrine each in the four corners and originally 56 smaller shrine-like niches, of which, however, only a few remain completely intact today. Iconographically important sculptures are to be found in and around these shrines and niches. The

6. D. B. Diskalkar, "Some Unpublished Inscriptions of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, no. 13, Kantela Inscriprion of Arjunadeva of V. S. 1320", in *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II, no. 4, pp. 227-231.

7. W J. Wilkins, *Hindu Mythology* (*Vedic and Puranic*), Repr. (New Delhi 1972), p. 187.

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main idols inside the shrines are in the east that of Viṣṇu reclining on Śeṣa, in the south that of the goddess of small-pox, Śītalā, and in the north that of dancing Śiva. In addition to the main idol inside these three shrines there are rows of sculptures of gods and goddesses in the *jaṅghā* portion of the outer wall. Each wall has three main sculptures of deities and a number of subordinate figures. The central figure of these three main sculptures is always a figure either of Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Harihara or Kārttikeya. The sculptures flanking these are the Lokapālas, usually in a *tribhaṅga* posture. Usually there are six Lokapālas attached to each sidewall of the shrine, three on each side flanking the main sculpture, out of the usual number of eight, these are beginning from the East: Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Marut, Kubera, Īśana, according to the *Amarakośa*.[8]

Of the sculptures in the friezes in the corner-shrines (only the ones in the southwest and northeastern corners are remaining), one can identify the sculptures of Śiva standing together with his consort, Viṣṇu in a *samabhaṅga* posture holding *cakra*, other figures of Śiva and Viṣṇu and a dancing Cāmuṇḍā. All the shrine-like niches had earlier an idol installed inside, of which altogether only a few are remaining till today, for example a goddess, Śiva, Sūya, Viṣṇu, Kārttikeya, Indrāṇī. Other figures which are identifiable are Brahmāṇī, Viṣṇu as Trivikrama, Viṣṇu as Nārasiṁha, a combined figure of Sūrya and Śiva.

Rāṇi nī Vāv in Patan which is the most beautifully ornamented stepwell of Gujarat has the entire wall of the well decorated with horizontal row of various heights, the major ones have niches with sculptures of gods with consorts, like Brahmā and Brahmāṇī, Śiva and Pārvatī, Bhairava and Kālikā, Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. Other horizontal courses depcit the *saptamātṛkas* with Gaṇeśa and Bhairava in niches, and the *aṣṭadikpālas.* Other sculptures that are included are Śeṣaśayin Viṣṇu, Bhaiava, Gaṇeśa, Kubera, Lakulīsa, Sūrya, Brahmā, Indra, Hayagrīva, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu, goddesses, Surasundarī and Apsarā in various poses of dance and their toilet.

From the viewpoint of iconography the twin stepwells of Kāleśvarī nī Nāl, Sāsu and Bahu stepwells, are very interesting, although their

8. *Amarakośa*, with commentary of Maheśvara, by Vamanacharya Jhalakikar (Bombay, 1880).

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architectural structure is absolutely plain and unformidable. The niches in the sidewall, either in the first or second *Kūṭa* (storey), have sculptures of exquisite quality. Bahu stepwell has on the northern side an image of Śeṣaśāyin Viṣṇu and on the southern side a panel of the *mātṛkā*. Sāsu stepwell is decorated in the northern side with a panel of Navagraha and on the southern wall with that of *daśāvatāras* of Viṣṇu. The ten incarnations of Viṣṇu are lined up in the niche in a kind of U-form starting from the western end: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nnrasiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki. Here the second *Kūta* has niches with sculptures, on the nothern side with a panel of Śeṣaśāyin Viṣṇu, and on the southern side with that of Aṣṭamātṛkās with Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa, lined up in the same way as the *Daśāvatāras*: (from the western end) Cāmuṇḍa, Vīrabhadra, Brahmāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kauberī, Varāhı, Yamı, Indrāṇī, Gaṇeṣa and Māheśvarī (Raudrı).

Drawing a conclusion from the comparison of the sculptures mentioned in the *śiilpaśāstra* texts, and those appearing actually in the monuments, one can find, that theory and actual development of forms do not tally totally. There is no pond or stepwell, which has all the sculptures listed in the text, installed inside its niches. Each pond or stepwell might have a certain number of those, but on the whole not a single water-monument displays the entire range of sculptures from the *Aparājita-pṛcchā*. On the other hand, some of the very elaborate monuments, like the Sūryakuṇḍa or Rāṇī nı Vāv, display a lot more variety in sculptures than mentioned in the text. This variety reflects the entire range of the classical iconography, from the major gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon to Puranic forms like Trivikrama and heavenly beautiets. Many of rhe sculptures mentioned in the *Aparājitapṛcchā* really appear in the Sūryakuṇḍa or Rāṇī nı Vāv, like the main deities Śiva, Rudra, Viṣṇu (as standing figure or as Seṣaśāyin), Bhairava, Sūrya; Śiva with his consort, Ūmāmahes'vara; combined figures of Viṣṇu and Śiva, Harihara, female deities, Caṇḍikā, Durgā, Gaṅgā, the eight mātṛkās Navadurgā; and the deities, presiding over the locations or directions, Kṣetrapāla and Dikpāla (Lokapāla). An image of Śeṣaśāyin or Jalaśāyin seems to necessarily belong to a water-monument. This image of Viṣṇu as lying on the world snake Śeṣa or Ananta is also known as Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, and Jalaśāyin mūrti, as Nārāyaṇa as the lord of waters is identified with Viṣṇu. Other forms or aspects of the main deities which are separately mentioned in the text are difficult to be distinguished from the

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main idols as such and even might not appear as such in the water-monuments, for example Śrīdhara, a form of Viṣṇu as 'bearer of wealth or Śrī'; Śaṅkara or Bhallasvāmī, forms of Śiva. Sometimes the godly figures would appear with a different emphasis of identity, for example Varāha is enumerated in the *Aparājitapṛcchā* along with Jalaśāyin and the 11 Rudras, in the Sāsu stepwell, however, Varāha appears as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and not as a separate godly figure. However, in Vikiya Vāv near Porbandar, there is a tiny sculpture of Varāha in the pediment of the entrance pavilion. It is imaginable that Bhuvanadeva, the author of *Aparājitapṛcchā*, mentions Vārāha as separate sculpture in a water-monument, because of its connection with water, the eternal waters from which Varāha saved the earth. The same kind of equalling legend and reality might have stood behind the mentioning of Varuṇa, in the *Viśvakarmā Vāstuśāstra* who in the later classical mythology was the 'lord of the waters' *par excellence*. In the actual monuments Varuṇa usually appears as one of the Dikpālas. On the other hand, the Dikpālas and Lokapālas which are mentioned *en masse* only, in the text, have a very important role to play in the iconography of the sculptures of water-monuments. For example they do figure as all the six corner images in the main three niches situated in the centre of each sidewall in Sūrya kuṇda. Also in Rāṇī nī Vāv the eight Dikpālas (aṣṭadikpālas) inhabit a prominent part in the horizontal rows of sculptures in the wall of the well.

Occassionally one can find images of individual sages,named in the text as Durvāsā and Nārada, as in Rāṇī nī Vāv. *Mithuna* (couples) mentioned in the Viśvakarmā Vāstuśāstra appear usually in a stepwell, as in the horizontal rows of Rāṇī nī Vāv, on pillars in Āśāpurī Vāv in Ahmedabad, on brackets, on the parapet wall of Aṅkol Mātā stepwell in Davad, and brackets of Mādhā Vāv in Vadhvan, etc. Gaṇesa as the deity of all auspicious undertakings, appears in nearly every pond or stepwell, either as main idol in a niche, like in Kālesvarī nī Nāl, Sathamba, etc., or as tiny carving in the centre of a lintel in the supporting structure, as in Adalaj stepwell. Some figures which find no mention in the texts, but play an important role, are the group of daśāvatāra, navagraha, individual gods like Kārttikeya, Lakulīśa, goddesses like Śitalā, or Apsaras or Surasundarī, or narrative panels.

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as in idols as such and even might not appear as such in the water-monuments, for example Śrīdhara, a form of Viṣṇu as bearer of wealth or Śrī, Saṃhāra or Bhālacandra, forms of Śiva. Sometimes the godly figures would appear with a different emphasis of identity, for example Varāha is enumerated in the Aparājitapṛcchā along with Jalaśāyin and the 11 Rudras, in the [illegible] itself, however Varāha appears as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and not as a separate godly figure. However in Vikia Vāv near Porbandar, there is a free sculpture of Varāha in the pediment of the entrance pavilion. It is reasonable that Bhuvanadeva the author of Aparājitapṛcchā mentions Varāha as separate sculpture in a water-monument, because of its connection with water, the eternal waters from which Varāha raised the earth. The same kind of equating legend and reality might have stood behind the mentioning of Varuṇa in the [illegible] who in the later classical mythology was the 'lord of the waters' par excellence. In the actual monuments Varuṇa usually appears as one of the Dikpālas. On the other hand, the Dikpālas and Lokapālas which are mentioned as minor ones in the text, have a very important role to play in the iconography of the sculptures of water-monuments. For example they are figured as all the six corner images in the main three niches situated in the centre of each sidewall in Sūrya Kuṇḍa; also in Rāṇī ni Vāv the eight Dikpālas (aṣṭadikpālas) take a prominent part in the horizontal rows of sculptures in the wall of the well.

Occasionally one can find images of individual sages named in the text as Durvāsā and Nārada, as in Rāṇī ni Vāv. Mātṛkās (mothers) mentioned in the Viśvakarmā Vāstuśāstra appear usually in a stepwell, as in the horizontal rows of Rāṇī ni Vāv, on pillars in [illegible] Vāv, [illegible] on brackets on the parapet wall of Amṛt Mātā stepwell in [illegible], and brackets of Mādhā Vāv in Vadhvan, etc. Gaṇeśa as the deity of all auspicious undertakings appears in nearly every pond or stepwell either as a cult idol in a niche, like in Kedāreśvar at Nāl Sarovar, etc., or as the carving in the centre of a lintel in the supporting structure, as in Adalaj stepwell. Some figures which find no mention in the texts but play an important role, are the group of Navagraha, Daśāvatāra, [illegible], cult gods like Kārttikeya, Hanumān, goddesses like [illegible] or [illegible], or narrative panels.

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Lotika VARADARAJAN, New Delhi:

# INDIAN TEXTILES AND EARLY TRADE ROUTES OF THE ORIENT

India had trade links with various parts of the Orient at least since the opening years of the Christian era, if not earlier. Trade was possible because of the complementary nature of mutual needs which could be satisfied through the flow of commodities along established channels of communication. Indian textiles, predominently of cotton, played an important part in this web of trade relations which had been nurtured into existence.

Just as Chinese skill in the field of silk was readily acknowledged for many centuries, Indian expertise in the sphere of cotton spinning, weaving and dyeing remained unquestioned until the onset of the Industrial Revolution. Apart from India, cotton was also grown in West Asia including Persia and Syria, Chinese Turkestan and Armenia. This was essentially of the *Gossypium herbaceum* variety. Cotton in Indo-China, and in Yunan, Kwantung and Fukien in China was obtained from *Gossypium arboreum*. China was introduced to cotton from two sources—Chinese Turkestan through the silk route and India *via* Funan. The two Chinese terms for cotton were *ku-pei* from the Cham variant of *kupai* derived from Sanskrit *karpāśa* and *po-tieh* traced to Turkish derivation.[1]

1. PELLIOT, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, Paris, 1959, pp. 429, 442, 454. There is a 6th century A. D. referenee to cotton, *po-tie* sent from Turkestan to China. F. HIRTH, W. W. ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju Kua; his work on the Chinese Arab Trade called Chu Fkn-Chi* (henceforth *Chau Ju Kua*), St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 218 n.

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Cotton fabrics were found in China by the Sven Hedin and Aurel Stein expeditions dated respectively to A. D. third century and eighth century. These do not necessarily lead to the inference of indigenous provenance. The rarity of cotton in China is testified by its inclusion in tributes sent to China between A. D. 430 and 1077.[2] It was only in the 14th century that cotton came into more general usage.[3] Cotton should have reached Japan subsequent to its introduction to China, and the Portuguese are known to have brought cotton seeds in 1542.[4] A Chinese source dated 1330 mentions cotton fabrics as costituting trade items of Ligor, Philippines and Annam.[5] In the absence of any known vigorous tradition of the production of quality cotton textiles in these regions these can be taken as of Indian provenance.

Indonesian wild cotton was found in the Lesser Sunda Islands. Some cotton was cultivated in Java but its extensive commercial cultivation was taken up by the Dutch only in the late nineteenth century.[6]

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2 *Isis*, 34, 1942, L. Carrington GOODRICH, "Cotton in China", p. 409. Cotton was sent from Java in A. D. 430, Sumatra in 523, Annam *circa* 679, Coromandel (India), 1077. *Ibid.*, p. 408.

3. According to folklore, a woman, Hung Tao-P'o who had learnt cotton spinning in the lower Yangtze region at Yai-cho btought the art to the people of Kwantung province in the 13th century. The earliest illustration of cotton, its cultivation and manufacture, were to be found in the work *Mang-shu* by Wang chen dated to 1313-14 *Ibid.*, pp. 408-409.

4. T. OSUMI, *Printed Cottons of Asia*, Tokyo, Rutland (Vermont), 1963, p. 20.

5. Paul WHEATLEY, *The Golden Khersonese*, Kuala Lumpur, 1966, pp. 78-79. It is recorded that at the time of Magellan (*circa*. 1519) cotton was only worn by eminent people in the Philippines. *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* henceforth *JMBRAS*), 32, 1959, Paul WHEATLEY, "Sung Maritime Trade", p. 21. In the first half of the seventeenth century there was great demand for Indian textiles at Manila (*Ibid.*, 31, 1958, D. K. BASSETT, "English trade in the Celebes, 1613-1667", p. 21.

6. J. FISCHER, ed., *Threads of Tradition*, California, 1979, J. FISCHER, "The Value of tradition: An essay on Indonesian textiles," p. 9.

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During the reign of King Narai of Thailand (A. D. 1657-1688) ambassadors sent by Louis XIV to the court of King Narai noted that the indigenous cotton textiles were of an extremely coarse quality.[7] Both China and Japan lay essentially within the silk belt and the attraction for Indian cotton was basically in terms of the yen for the exotic. Thailand and Indonesia, however, exercised a choice in favour of cotton. Indian cottons had been circulating in greater or lesser measure in all these markets before the Europeans had intervened in the intra-Asian channels of trade. When the Europeans arrived the nomenclature for Indian painted and printed textiles throughout the region was *sarassa*.[8]

**Early Trade Routes:**

During the Han period there appears to have been an overland route leading from Yunan across the gorges of the rivers Mekong and Salween, down the river Irrawaddy and thence by sea across the Bay of Bengal. Maritime traffic could either follow the course of coastline navigation to Bengal or sail directly across the sea to modern Andhra Pradesh or Tamil Nadu.[9] In the 8th century A. D. the overland route pierced through the

7. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions*, 8935, f. 120.

8. The term *sarassa* was perhaps derived from the Gujarati term *saras* meaning good quality. Even today in Gujarat textiles may be vended as being *saras* ( of good quality). Europeans were introduced to Indian cotton because of the exigencies of the spice trade in which these fabrics were readily accepted in the existing system of exchange. It is not clear why the Europeans chose to coin the word chintz for Indian painted and printed textiles, when the tern *sarassa* was already in usage as a trade term.

9. This route was opened in A. D. 120 but closure was enforced in A. D. 342. It was reopened *circa* 8th century A. D. J. F. Cody, *Southeast Asia: Its Historical Development*, New Delhi, 1976, p. 22. For relations between India and China during the period A. D. 158-502 see *Journal Asiatiqe* (henceforth *J. A.*) 1847, S. Julien, "Sur les paya et les peuples étrangers, tirées des gèographies et des annales Chinoises: Thien Tchou, 1' Inde" pp. 99-102.

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difficult terrain of Kamrup (Assam) to Tamralipti in Bengal.[10] With the founding and expansion of Funan (*circa* A. D. 1st century to 7th century) which coincided with changes in the political boundaries in China[11] and the incidence of Roman trade in the East, alternative routes began to be favoured. Apart from its own trading contacts Funan acted as the clearing house where south China was provided with access to the western world.[12] Merchants from the Indian seas sailed to the Malayan Peninsula then cut across the isthmus at various points of porterage[13] to continue their maritime voyages from the opposite side of the peninsula. This route obviated the tricky passage through the straits of Malacca.

India maintained contacts with Indonesia apart from those with Funan. These existed in the opening years of the Christian era although nothing is known about the commercial exchanges which may have taken place. The acceptance of the Hindu cultural mould in one form or another is an indubitable historical circumstance shaping the variant culture of the region stretching from Burma to Cambodia, on the one hand, and those extending southwards to Malaysia and Indonesia on the other.

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10. This route was mentioned by Kia Tan. See *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise de l'Extreme Orient*, 1904, Pelliot, "Deux itineraires de chine en Inde a la fin du VIII$^{e}$ siecle", pp. 142, 175-181.

11. In the partition of China in the post-Han period, early in the third century, the Wei dynasty in the north was left in control of approaches to the overland trade route through Turkestan. The Wu Government in the south (A. D. 222-280) therefore, sought an outlet through Funan. O. C. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce* (henceforth *E.I.C.*), New York, 1967, pp. 38, 40.

12. The Port of Tun-Sun, conquered in the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. acted as an entrepôt for the trade of Persia, northern India, Funan and Tongking. Material remains at the port of Oc-Eo comprise objects from India, West Asia and the Mediterranean, apart from local products. *Ibid.* pp. 37-38, 44.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 48. These were between Mergui and Kra, Takuapa and Chaiya Trang and Ligor and Kedah and Patani. See J. F. Cody, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

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The course of the movement in an era when communications were slow if not erratic has yet to be successfully analysed. G. COEDES offers the view that there was in any case a basic homogeuity in this area, Monsoon Asia, which made free borrowing and assimilation possible and compatible.[14] The history of the spread of Brahmancial and Buddhist culture over the Indian sub-continent has demonstrated the ease with which mythology could bend itself to suit the needs of processes of acculturation.[15] It is significant that several of the most venerated cult figures in Monsoon Asia have been accorded the attribute of guardian diety of sailors. After the second century A. D.[16] Indians appeared to have ventured to Indonesia in search of gold and camphor. It is possible that navigation was charted through the Straits of Malacca.[17] There is no reason to doubt

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14. G. COEDES, *The Making of Sontheast Asia*, London, 1966, p. 52.

15. The most interesting is the coalescion of Siva with Agastya found propagated as Bhataraguru or Siva Guru in Indonesia. See M. N. BOPARDIKAR. *Agastya Legends: a Historical and Cultural Study*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Deccan College, Poona, 1973, pp. 371, 375, 379-380; M. C. SUBHADRADIS DISKUL, ed., *Art of Srivijaya*, Paris, Selangor, 1980, p. 54. Among members of the Buddhist pantheon mention may be made of Dipankara, protector of seamen, Jambhala identified with Varuna, lord of the waters, Avalokitesvara/Kuan-Yin, patron saint of mariners. With the development of Mahayana Buddhism Avalokitesvara began to be also identified with Śiva. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57; O. W. WOLTERS, *The Fall of Srivijaya* (henceforth *Srivijaya*) Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, 1975, p. 131.

16. G. FERRAND, however, is of the view that Hindus came to Java in the 4th or 5th centuries B. C., *J. A.*, 1919 "Le Kouen Louen", p. 37.

17. *E, I. C.*, pp. 32, 34. It is significant that spices did not play a significant role. The image of Suvarṇabhūmi as depicted in the Jātakas (2nd century B. C. to 3rd century A. D.). and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (11th century) is that of a country of fabulous wealth in gems and precious metal. In fact it is difficult to disassociate the glittering wealth of Suvarṇabhūmi from that attributed to Ratnakar, Siva, as the embodiment of the wealth of the sea. India took increased interest in Indonesia as the traditional sources of gold from Siberia and the Roman world had dried up in last centuries before the Christian era and the second half of the first century A D. respectively. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

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that Indian cotton textiles played a part in the pattern of exchange which had developed since this early date.[18]

18. Unlike West Asia where Indian products such as timber and peacocks' feathers enjoyed demand in antiquity (Hadi HASAN, A *History of Persian Navigation*, London 1928, p. 50), in Indonesia the prime Indian commodity enjoying a consistently high demand was that of cotton texties. References are dated to the sixteenth century but since this demand appeared to have its mainspring in deeply engrained beliefs which ranked textiles as cultural artifacts apart from their role as items of utility (see M. GITTINGER, *Splendid Symbols, Textiles and Tradition*, Washington, 1979, pp. 39, 9:, 102, 108, 133, 157, 168, 205, 217), the validity of these sources as related to an earlier period can also be taken quite seriously with due allowances being made for known historical changes. Sangam literature of the second century A. D. testifies to the high level attained in the fiield of textile arts in South India. BOECHARI traces a reference to Indian cloth in the inscription of Wurudu Kudal dated 844 Saka/A. D. 922. See BOECHARI, *Some considerations of the problem of the shift of Mataram's Centre of Government from Central to East Java in the 10th Century A. D.*, Bulletin of the Research Centre of Archaeology of Indonesia, No. 10, 1976, p. 18 n 16. At a later date when spices outranked gold and camphor as items in demand, the same pattern of exchange continued. According to Paramita ABDURACHMAN (H. SOEBADIO, ed., *Dynamics in Indonesian History*, North Holland, 1978, "Moluccan response to the first intrusions of the west", p. 164), it was Chinese initiative which converted the above trades into one of international dimensions. The Chinese made payment in terms of copper, silk, and, since the Sung period, in ceramics. After the withdrawal of the Chinese in the fifteenth century, Javans, Malays (after the founding of Malacca), Indians and Europeans began to participate in this trade. Apart from spices, sandalwood at Timor and tin at Perak could also be bought against Indian cottons. Although opium from Aden was diffused over a wide region, it did not attain the same popularity as Indian cottons. Such was the importance of cotton that Gujarati traders at Acheh were stated to have been able to manipulate price of tin and spices by lowering the price of cloth. Apart from cloth *circa* 16th century, Indian traders are also said to have paid for spices in terms of semi precious stones beads and carnelian. The Portuguese adopted a more circuitious method perhaps following Malay precedents. After their departure from Malacca with cargos of Indian cottons, they exchanged these in east Java, mainly at Gresik and Panarukan for Chinese cash. They used this cash to buy inferior cottons possibly of indigenous manufacture at Bima on the eastern tip of Sumbawa. These were finally exchanged at Banda and Ternate for nutmeg and cloves. Armando CORTESAO, *The Suma Oriental of Thome*

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Apart from Indians there was another group participating in the trade of the Southern Seas.[19] The Chinese alluded to them as "barbarians" and they were referred to in Tang times (A. D. 620-907) as Kun Lun. The Kun Lun countries comprised Java, Sumatra, Champa and Cambodia, being brought together by a common *lingua franca* and a shared script.[20] They drew on a fund of maritime expertise garnered over many centuries. They were not active participants in trade but provided transport facilities to merchants of diverse origin.[21] In the 4th century A. D. the Kun Lun from Southwest Borneo established a maritime route from Kwantung or Fukien across the South China Sea to the region of Sambas. Thence they passed west to Palembang, along the east coast of Sumatra to the entrance of Straits of the Malacca. They journeyed onwards to India where they encountered Persian and Arab craft.[22]

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*Pires and The Book of Frencisco Rodrègues* (henceforth *Pires*), Kraus Reprint Ltd., Liechtenstein, 1967, p. 204; B. SCHRIEKE, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, I, Hague, Bandung, 1955, p. 22; *Journal of Southeast Asian History* (henceforth *JSAH*), X, 1969, S. ARASARATNAM, "Some notes on the Dutch in Malacca and the Indo-Malayan trade, 1641-1670" pp. 484; *Archipel*, 18, 1979, L. F. F. R. THOMAZ, "Les Portugais dans les mers de l'Archipel aux XVI siecle", pp. 118-120.

19. In the Chinese world view, the waters stretching from the coast of China and the South China Sea to the Indian Ocean and the coasts of Africa were in essence one ocean, the Nan-Yang or the Southern Seas. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 21, 1978, K. R HALL, "International trade and foreign diplomacy in early medieval South India", p. 76.

20. P. WHEATLAY, *op. cit.*, p. 283; *JMBRAS*, 13, 1935, R. BRADDELL, "Study of Ancient Times in the Malaya Peninsula" p. 81; *ibid.*, R. J. WILKINSON, "Early Indian Influence in Malaysia", p. 7. G. FERRAND (J. A., 1919, "Le Kouen Louen", pp. 321, 332-333), gives a much broader connotation to the term Kouen Louen.

21. *E. I. C.*, pp. 154-155.

22. *JMBRAS*, 31, 1958, Wang GUNGWU, "The Nanhai Trade", p. 103; *ibid.*, 32, 1959, Paul WHEATLEY, "Sung Maritime Trade", p. 47.

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The Persians and Arabs were the first group to sail directly, albeit with a transhipment of craft enroute, to China.[23] From the fifth to the mid-seventh century A. D. south Sumatra constituted an essential link between the trade of the Indian Ocean and that of the China Sea, the Straits of Malacca being regarded merely as a path leading to south Sumatra.[24] The interest taken by the Southern Wu dynasty of China in the trade of Persia provided further fillip to Persian maritime venture.

Persia had earlier relied on the overland silk route for the conduct of its trade with China. However, when the Hephthalites closed the silk route in the second half of the fifth century, the Persians turned to the sea route to procure their supplies of Chinese silk.[25] (*Circa* 522-25). Persians utilised the entrepot facilities which had been developed by Ceylon.[26]

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23. The Arabs changed their vessels at Kalah in Malaysia or at Quilon on the Malabar coast. For Kalah see G. R. Tibbets, *A Study of Arabic Texts containing material on South-East Asia*, Leiden, London, p. 37. For Quilon refer to *J. A.*, 1919, G. Ferrand, article cited, p. 59.

24. Palembang and Jambi in Sumatra assumed the status of essential links connecting the two sectors. *E. I. C.*, p. 227. In 851 A. D., however, the merchant Sulaiman described an itinerary leading directly to the South China Sea after passage through the Straits of Malacca.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 76, 80, 82.

26. As early as A. D. 131, a tributary mission had been sent from Ceylon to China. Ceylon was prized for its precious stones, ivory and pearls. Cosmos Indicopleuestes drawing on information dated *circa* 522-25, noted that cloves were brought to Ceylon from countries further east. Chao Ju Kua, whose material can be linked to conditions of trade in the late 12th and the 13th centuries, stated that Malaysian tortoise shell could also be procured at Ceylon. During the period of Arab enterprise Colombo became an important site but after the 14th century, piracy at Colombo deflected foreign trade to South India. *E. I. C.*, pp. 68. 74, 81-82; *Chau Ju Kua*, p. 3; *Sri Lanka Journal of Humanities*, University of Peradeniya, IV, 1978, Mahinda Wereke, "A new date for the beginnings of Sino-Sri Lanka Relations", pp. 66, 69. *Ceylon Historical Journal*, 1951, B. J. Pereira, "The foreign trade and commerce of ancient Ceylon" pp. 116-117.

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When Persia was absorbed within the Arab-empire, Arab enterprise merged with that of Persia.[27] Pushing beyond Ceylon by 695 A. D. the Arabs had reached China navigating their way past Malaysia and Indonesia profiting from the paths opened up by the Kun Lun. With periodic intermissions Arab presence in China continued until A. D. 795 when China proscribed all foreign trade.[28] After this date the Arabs shifted to Kalah which now became the centre at which the exchange between the Chinese sector and those further west took place.[29]

The Chinese had not remained passive spectators to these events. Developing during the Tang period (A. D. 620-907), and reaching the apogee under the southern Sungs (A. D. 1127-1279), Chinese vessels which had actively participated in this trade, now entered into a process of withdrawal.[30] New focal points of interchanges came up at Malacca and, to a lesser extent, Manila.

Participation in trade was a smaller facet of a larger Chinese world view. The external bonds of China were expressed in terms of relation-

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27. The Chinese used the common term *ta-shih* to cover both the Arabs as well as the Persians. The products of *ta-shih* were called *po-ssu*. These comprised myrrh, frankincense, coral, pearls, amber and glassware.

28. *MBRAS*, 30, 1957, G. R. Tibbets, "Early Muslim traders in Southeast Asia", pp. 25, 27; W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, I, Leipzig, 1885, p. 28.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32; G. R. Tibbets, *op. cit.*, p. 37; B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, II, Hague, Bandung, 1957, p. 232.

30. R. W. Steel, R. M. Prothero, eds., *Geographers and the Tropics: Liverpool Essays*, London, 1964, Paul Wheatley, "The land of Zanj: exegetical notes on Chinese knowledge of East Africa prior to A. D. 1500", p. 147; B. Schrieke, *op. cit.*, II, p. 232. The last major spurt of activity was witnessed in the reign of the Ming emperor, Young Lo (A. D. 1403-1424). Between 1405 and 1433 Tcheng Ho was deputed on several overseas missions. H. Cordier, *Historire Générale de la Chine et de ses relations avec les pays étrangers depuis les temps plus anciens jusqu'á la chute la dynastie Mandchou*, III, Paris, 1920, pp. 31-33.

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ships with tributary states.[31] The rivalry between different states for securing higher status within the system generated forces which culminated in the Chola expedition against Srivijaya in the reign of Rajendra Chola in A. D. 1125.[32]

Indonesia occupied a special position within this gamut of trade relations. A peculiarity of the islands was the noticeable absence of seafaring communities in the centres of spice and sandalwood production. Further, these islands were also deficient in food crops. Unlike the Indian pattern of maritime trade effected throughout entrepot centres, in Indonesia a number of stapling points developed. Areas enjoying the twin advantages of surplus food and presence of seafaring communities carried cargos of rice and procured return supplies of spices.[33] Java was pre-eminent in this field.[34] Power alignments on the islands changed. Srivijaya faded away with the spotlight intermittently focussing on Mataram, Singhaseri and Majapahit. It was during the Majapahit period that Islam began to make headway on the islands.[35] The introduction of Islam coincided

31. See *Srivijaya*, pp. 22-36, 49.

32. For Chola relations with Srivijaya see P. WHEATLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

33. These were mace and nutmeg in Banda and cloves in the Moluccas while sandalwood was procured from Timor.

34. BOECHARI, *op. cit.*, p. 6; SCHRIEKE, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 18, 66; *Srivijaya*, p. 187.

35. *Srivijava*, centred at Palembang, came into increasing importance in the seventh century. Chinese records *circa* A. D. 679-742 refer to Srivijaya as Shih-li-fo-shin. Sometime after 856 A. D., the Sailendras, who had emerged in Java A. D. 750-850, established their authority in Srivijaya. This change is noted by the Chinese as after about 900 A. D. Chinese texts substituted San-fo-chi for the earlier term. Very little is known about the first dynasty. Satyawati SULAIMAN feels that a marriage alliance in A. D. 775 may have provided the first link between Srivijaya and the Sailendras of Java. The Sailendras remained in power until *circa* 1375, but sometime between 1079 and 1082, the capital was

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with the period of Chinese withdrawal,[36] bringing with it the increasing gravitation of Indonesia towards the ambit of the Indian Ocean trade.[37]

The islamisation of Indonesia[38] led to the emergence of a series of new states and the earlier monolithic pattern of stapling trade began to be increasingly eroded.[39] The trade in the products of the spice and sandalwood islands received new focii with the development of Acheh,

shifted from Palambang to Java had repudiated Sailendra overlordship in A. D. 860, and between A. D. 925-1222 dominant power was exercised by a Saivite dynasty centred at Mataram. Between 1222 and 1292 the Singhaseri dynasty emerged to the forefront. In 1293, Vijayalaya, the son-in-law of Kertinagara of the Singhaseri dynasty, established the kingdom of Majapahit. The decline of Majapahit is placed between A. D. 1513 and 1528. After this date the era of Islamic cultural dominance was initiated. It was to prove politically shortlived as it coincided with the appearance of the Europeans. Satyawati SULAIMAN, *A Concise History of Indonesia*, National Research Culture of Archaeology, 1978, pp. 17-18, 22, 45; M. S. SUBHADRADIS DISKUL, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 59-60; *Srivijaya*, p. 90; G. R. TIBBETS, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 116-117; *JMBRAS*, G. R. TIBBETS, "Early Muslim Traders in Southeast Asia", p. 4.

36. Early in the fourteenth century China was becoming increasingly alarmed at the outflow of precious currency and restrictions were first placed in A. D. 1293. Between 1377-1397, tributary trade was discouraged and early Ming policy upto 1435 was geared towards the suppression of all private Chinese overseas trade. *Srivijaya*, p. 187; P. WHEATLEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 77.

37. *Srivijaya*, p. 187; SCHRIEKE, *op. cit.*, I, p. 66.

38. For a synopsis of various views on the introduction of Islam to Indonesia see *Archipal*, 15, Barooh BARIED, trans. Ch. PELRAS, "Islam dans l'Archipel", pp. 74-75. See also H. SOEBADIO, *op. cit.*, U. TJANDRASASMITA, "The introduction of Islam and the growth of Moslem coastal cities in the Indonesian archipelago", p. 140, et. sq.

39. SCHRIEKE, *op. cit.*, I, p. 18. After 1400 Grise became the stapling point for the Javanese spice trade. See also H. SOEBADIO, *op. cit.*, P. R. ABDURACHMAN, article cited, pp. 162-174.

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Demak,[40] Grise, Bantam and Macassar.[41]

This was the situation at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese. The activities of the Portuguese,[42] Dutch[43] and Spaniards not only in Southeast Asia but also in Japan brought about realignments both in the content of trade as well as the interrelationships subsisting between the various trading centres.[44] Activities at Deshima, Macao, Manila,[45]

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40. Under Pangeran, later Sultan, Tranggana, A. D 1504-1546, Demak became an increasingly important state. After a period of expansion Demak went into decline in the mid 16th century. T. G. Th. PIGEAUD. H. J de GRAAF, *Islamic States in Java*, 1500-1700, The Hague, 1976, pp. 7-8, 10.

41. Ambon had earlier been an important centre for the dispersion of spices. After the fall of Malacca to the Dutch in 1641 many Portuguese came to Macassar and contributed to its development as a distributing center for spices. C. R. BODER, *Franciseo de Figueiredo, A Portuguese merchant adventurer in Southeast Asia*, 1624-1667, Hague, 1967, p. 24; SCHREIKE, *op. cit.*, I, pp 66-67.

42. For further details see *Studia*, 29, 1970 (pp. 191-194), and 40, 1978 (pp. 256-269) Sartoro KARTODIRAJO, "Religious and Economic aspects of Portuguese Indonesian Relations"; *JSAH*, X, 1969, C. R. BOXER, "A note on Portuguese reactions to the revival of the Red Sea spice trade and the rise of Atjeh, 1540-1600", p. 416 et. sq.; *Archipel*, 18, 1979 , L. F. F. R. THOMAZ, article cited, pp. 117-124.

43. See H. SOEBADIO, *op. cit.*, R. Z. LEIRISSA, "The Dutch Trading Monopolies, pp 191-201; *JSAH*, 10, 1969, S. ARASARATNAM, article eited, p. 484 et. sq

44. See *XV*[e] *Congress International des Sciences Historiques*, Bucharest, 10-17 Acût, 1980, Rapports, II, N. STEENSGAARD, "Asian trade 15th-18th centuries: continuity and discontinuities", pp. 489-498.

45. The Spaniards established themselves in Manila in 1571. Refer to *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (henceforth *TASJ*), XLII, 1974, M. T. Paske SMITH, "The Japanese trade and residence in the Philippines before and during the Spanish occupation", p. 688 et sq. *J. A.*, 1828, M. KLAPROTH, trans. with notes, "Fookoua Siriak on trait sur l'origine des richesses du Japon, ecrit en 1708 Par Arrai Tsi qougo no Kani Sama....", p. 16; *JMBRAS.*, 31, 1958, D. K. BASSETT, article cited, p. 21.

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Malacca[46] and Batavia were symptomatic of this change.

Before completing this brief review, a summary of the trading activities of Japan will now be taken up. Japan had links with China[47] and Siam[48] and the first introduction to Indian *sarassa* should have been through these intermediaries. The outlet to Manila would also have exposed Japan to Indian textiles in Southeast Asia.[49] The attempt of the Shoguns to centralise power led to the closure of Japan to foreign traders. Severe restrictions were also placed on Japanese trading groups who were becoming increasingly defiant of central authority.[50] Until 1860 the Dutch, among European groups, enjoyed a monopoly of trade with Japan. They operated from their base at Deshima. The highwater mark in their trade, however, is placed to the last quarter of the seven-

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46. Parameswara, married to a princess of Majapahit, and a fugitive from Sumatra, founded Malacca *circa* 1400-1401. After his conversion to Islam he adopted the name of Iskander Shah, *Srivijaya*, pp. 116, 165.

47. Delmer M. Brown, *Money Economy in Medieval Japan*, Connecticut, 1951, p. 20.

48. *Mare Luso Indicum*, IV, 1980, J. Aubin, "Les Persans sous le regne de Narai (1565-1688)", p. 104. The earliest reference to trade between Siam and Japan is recorded in 1606 under Shogun Iyeyasu. In 1633 a Japanese fleet comprising as many as 300 vessels is said to have been present at Ayuthia. In 1636, however, Japan closed her doors to foreign trade, the only exceptions made were those in favour of the Chinese and the Dutch. Thai trade with Japan was henceforth handled by the Chinese. The Dutch Company also profited from the situation. *Siam Society*, III, W. Hunn, "Some notes on the development of Commerce in Siam", pp. 207-208.

49. See note 45 above.

50. *Itinerario*, 1980-81, L. Blusse, H. L. Wesseling, G. D. Winius, eds., History and underdevelopment, L. Blusse, "Le Modern World System", et l' extreme orient, plaidoyer pour un seixieme siecle neglige", pp. 95-99.

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teenth century.[51] Within Siam the Japanese role in palace intrigues[52] led to their displacement, initially by the Chinese[53] and subsequently, by the Persians.[54] During the reign of King Narai, particularly in the period 1680-1688, there was a substantial increase in the scale of European activities marked by hightened imports of painted and printed cloth from India. However, after the revolution of 1688 Siam went into virtual seclusion for a century.

This survey makes quite clear that extensive channels of trade had been forged in the orient well before the European impact made itself felt in this area. China played a lead-role in the Indonesian sector of trade after *circa* seventh century A. D. Other participants among the merchant groups comprised Arabs and Indians. For China, interest in Indian textiles was marginal as payment for Indonesian commodities could be made in media sueh as copper, silk and ceramics. In the case of Arab and Indian participants, however, Indian textiles were of paramount importance in view of the pattern of exchange which had developed in the pursuit of commercial transactions in the Malayo-Indonesian trading marts.

51. See W. T. KROESE, *The Demand of His imperial Majesty, An Examination of 40 Textile Samples from the Archives of the Netherlands factory in Japan*, 1609-1860, ms. Almelo, no date.

52. John O'KANE, trans. *The Ship of Sulaiman*, London, 1972, p. 52.

53. Tributes were received in China from Siam between 1281 and 1366. Records of intercourse between the two countries continued until 1722. *Siam Society*, III, W. NUNN, article cited, pp. 205-206.

54. *TASJ*, 13, 1885, E. M. SATOW, "Notes on intercourse between Japan and Siam in the seventeenth century", pp. 151, 154-55, 173, 179, 208. After the eviction of the Japanese by King Prasat Thong in 1630, the Chinese emerged to the fore until they were replaced by Persians *circa* 1656. The new favourites were members of the European community, particularly the French. *Mare Luso Indicum*, IV, 1980, J. AUBIN, article cited, p. 96.

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R. S. Singh & (Miss) V. D. Vyas, Varanasi:

# ON THE IDENTITY OF AND GREEK IMPACT ON THE PĀṆINIAN PLANT-NAME '*SIDDHRAKĀ*' (PĀṆINI' VIII. 4.4)

Pāṇini is considered as the father grammarian of the Sanskrit language. He belonged to the far north-western frontier area of ancient India. This area at present is included in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Due to the natural geographical features of the boundaries and surroundings of India, being surrounded on three sides by the wide expanse of the Indian Ocean and the whole of the northern boundary being protected by the lofty and impassable high Himalayas, the north-western frontier served as an area of least resistance and provided for a regular inlet and outlet for the immigrant hoards, tribal movements, traders, preachers and invaders to the golden inland of India in various strata of the historical eras since the prehistoric times. This phenomena gave the later periods a very complex composition to the Indian population and its socio-cultural and religious frame-work, ethico-philosophical thoughts and intellectual achievement in all spheres of knowledge, science and technology. This feature is but natural to be more and more so in this north-western frontier area in its past antecedents. Pāṇini seems to have made a very comrehensive survey, acquaintance and collection of words and epithets prevalent in his area of contact having heterogenous sources and varied chronology, but being assimilated in the vocabulary of the area. This nature is also evinced in the frame-work of the Pāṇinian aphorisms in so far as that, many times an independent *sūtra* or corollary had to be enunciated or framed to regularise or explain a single particular term or epithet so as to fit in the Pāṇinian moulds. Thus very likely, Pāṇini's grammar is important not only from the point of grammar *par-excellence* but also as a very rich repository of all-round knowledge, ancient historical evidence and anecdotes relating to periods prior to his own. Pāṇini serves as a very important link for the knowle-

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dge transmitted in the Indian tradition and for their antecedental whereabouts, which are of great importance in the study of the Ancient Indian Flora and its economic plant species. These are many times found delinked from their ancient context but sustaining their reminiscences in the later Indian texts, tradition and in their pocket-areas of usages. Such plant epithets are in a good number of cases now, not intelligible and explicable correctly in the back-ground of their original suggestive basis. The ancient north-western frontier and the adjoining area upto Bactria in Central Asia was inhabited by Indo-Greek Communities, which, though generally dehellenised, must have retained their traditions giving their impact on the hybridized and amalgamated Indo-Greek population and their traditions. Though the then Indian geographical names formed basis for the Indo-Greeks also, but their phonetic impacts on the Pāṇinian word-structure is not improbable. As an example, in the course of a critical study of the Flora of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, this paper discusses and highlights such influence on the Pāṇinian plant epithet '*SIDHRAKA* (*KĀ*)' which, offering only some glimpses, is detached in later period in the classics and the texts but survived in the remininiscent forms in the tribal and forest areas of the Vindhyas to the north-eastern Indian frontier in accordance to Sir George GRIERSON's theory of Outer-Band Linguistic areas. This study also resolves the correct identity of this ancient plant.

In the course of 'Critical Study of the Flora of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini' a very rich glossary of plant epithets of heterogenous sources and imports belonging to both, Vedic and non-Vedic pre-Aryan antecedents, has been revealed, which bears significant importance in the correct identity and understanding of many a plant-name entity, dislinked in the later Indian texts and tradition, but surviving in reminiscence in disaffiliated and indistinct sporadic notices in the texts and tribal pockets in folk usage. Notices of basis and philosophy of plant nomenclature are also observed in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, which, as reflected in the *cāturarthika sūtras*, was mainly affiliated to the ethno-geographical basis, as was probably also in the pre-Pāṇinian days. The complex nature of the Pāṇinian vocabulary and heterogenous grouping of its epithets, reflect amongst others, also the phonetic influence and transformation of epithets thereby depending on the influencing agency of the component speakers of the Pāṇinian Areas. As examplary, this paper (presentation) discusses and illustrates the influence of Greek phonetics on the word-transformation of the Pāṇinian plant epithet '*SIDHRAKA/SIDHRAKĀ*,' a rare economic plant of the Ancient

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Indian Flora, which has fallen in obscurity in the mesh of confusions. An attempt to resolve the correct identity of this Timber-tree of Indian trade has also been made in the study. Prior to Pāṇini, '*SIDHRAKA*' is mentioned only in the later Vedic literature in the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* (III.6.9) and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (III.5.10), where it has been dipicted as suitable fire-wood for the Vedic rituals.[1] The learned Sāyaṇa has identified '*sidhraka*' with some heart-wood tree (*sāravṛkṣa-viśeṣaḥ*).[2]

The notices of *sidhraka-sidhrakā* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* reflect significant bearing. Firstly it is met with in a *cāturarthika-sūtra* (IV.2.72), which reflects the affiliation of this epithet *sidhraka/sidhrakā* with the four-fold senses, i. e., ethno-geographical and also the name mentioned with reference to the produce of the area.[3] Secondly *sidhraka/sidhrakā* is met with again in the last chapter of the last book in the context of the *sūtras* governing the rules for the substitution of '*ṇa*' for '*na*' or retaining '*na*' as such, where (VIII.4.4) it is enumerated with the word '*Purgā*', '*Miśrakā*', '*Sidhrakā*', '*Śārikā*', '*Koṭarā*' and '*agre*', and according to this *sūtra*[4] the '*na*' of *vana* is changed into '*ṇa*' when preceded by any of these words as first member of the compound, and the whole compound is a name. This is how the epithet *sidhrakāvaṇam* is derived, being the name of an area/place probably abounding in the *Sidhraka* trees.[5] Thus based

1. *Cf.* 'सैध्रिकमयीनां समिधां घृताक्तानां सहस्रं जुहुयात् ।'
2. *Cf.* 'सैध्रकं सारवृक्षविशेषः' (सायण) ।
3. 'मतोश्च बह्वजङ्गात्' ॥७२॥ मतोः च बह्वच्-अङ्गात्—(अञ्) ।

   The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense after a word, which ends in the *affix* मतुप् and whose stem is polysyllabic, i. e.. a word which, exclusive of the *affix* अज consists of more than two syllables. takes the *affix*. This debars अण्. This is how the सैध्रकावनम् (that abounding in सिध्रक ) is derived.
4. The substitution of 'ण' for 'न' would have taken place by the preceding rule (VIII. 4. 3). The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word 'वन' shows that this is a restrictive rule. The 'न' of 'वन' is changed into 'ण' when preceded by these words only and no other.
5. This restrictive rule reflects the prevalence of such colloquial usage in that area. In this connection, it may also be mentioned that such colloquial usage is still surviving in parts of western India, i e., Rajasthan, Gujarat etc. which might have been the subsequent transmission of the same link and its people (speaking folks).

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on the Pāṇinian evidences, the epithet *sidhraka/sidhrakā* seems to be of ethno-geographical significance and bearing, representing some plant-species of economic value to the area of the same name. In the post-Pāṇinian periods, in the *Arthaśāstra*/Āyurvedic *saṁhitās* and the following Āyurvedic literatures, *nighaṇṭus* and also the Sanskrit lexicons, classics and the *kāvyas*, *siddhaka*(/*sidhraka*) is once met with in *Suśruta saṁhitā*[6] (*kalpasthāna*/chapter 3.1) and under the '*siddhraka*' in the *Aṣṭāṅga-saṁgraha*. But for these sporadic references, *siddhraka* disappears in the texts and written language. But surprisingly enough, this economic tree and its ancient name '*siddhraka*' is still lively, known and prevalent under its slightly distorted forms from the west to the east in the whole of the Vindhya-region representing the Outer-Band Linguistic Area of Sir George GRIERSON[7]. In the context of '*siddhraka*', mention may be made of the confusion amongest a number of plant-species representing economic timber-trees of India much valued in Indian timber trade and commerce for their tough, strong and elastic wood, which was much valued for the axle, wheel and other parts of the ancient chariots of war and animal-driven carts and carriages. These are '*syandana/spandana*,' '*tinisha*', '*siddh*,' '*sid* (*siddhraka*)', '*dhava*', '*bījaka/āsana*' at times '*sarja*' etc. The colloquial names are also loosely used for one another, thus giving rise to a mesh of confusions in their individual entity and identity. This situation is evinced althrough the Āyurvedic/Sanskrit classics, literature, *nighaṇṭus* and lexicons.[8] During the modern centuries with the advent and development of Binomial plant-nomenclature giving specific and internationally acceptable name to each plant-species and as result of attempts for

6. The learned commentator Ḍalhaṇa has equated the then spoken name '*siddha*' with this *siddhraka*- सिद्धवृक्षस्तु सिध्रकः (ड०) । This colloquial name '*siddha*' is still surviving in the forest areas of the District Mirzapur, U. P. (Field notes of Prof. R. S. SINGH).

7. *asiddha* (kharwār) : *siddha* (forest areas of Mirzapur); *sidha*. sīdhā (∠ *sidhrakā* -kharwar, Bengali, Hindi); *sid* (Bundelkhand); *sid* (Bengal, Assam). e. g.:— *Cf* सिध्रक । सिद्ध्रक>सिद्धक>सिद्ध V सिद । सिध्रका>सिद्ध्रक> सीधा, सिधा, सीध ।

8. Though 'स्यन्दन' is read in the synonyms of तिनिश, in the *Amarakoṣa*

तिनिशे स्यन्दनो नेमिरथद्रु अतिमुक्तकः (अमर० २।४।२६-२७)

but in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, and in the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, both are mentioned side by side meaning thereby their independent entity.

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identifying the ancient plant names with synonyms of bionomial name, the distinct identity of '*tiniśa*' '*dhava*', '*bījaka/asana*' and '*sarja*' have been defined and established leaving no confusion about their individuality and mutual relativity. Thus '*syandana*' and '*siddhraka*' only remain for consideration.

The plant-species represented by the '*siddhaka*' (later Sanskrit), '*sidh*', *sid*, *sidha* etc., all of which show their genesis from the same ancient *sidhraka/sidhrakā* has been now identified with *Lagerstroemia parviflora Roxb.* (family : *Lythraceae*), a timber tree found throughout India (upto 900 m.) in the Himalayas, in the sub-Himalayan tract from the Jumna eastward ascending to 3,000 ft., Assam, Bengal, Central India and the western Peninsula in deciduous forests. It is a long tree generally found as a companion of '*Sāla*', 'teak' and other commercial timber species; *flowers* white, fragrant, in axillary and terminal bichotomous panicles; *wood* is hard and tough, much valued for boats and other purposes. In the trade, the wood is popularly known under '*LENDIA*' and the tree is known in the regional language under *dhaurā*, *lendia*, *bākli*, *sidi* (Hindi); *lenda*, *bondaro* (Mar.); *baklī*, *dhaur* (Punj.); *sida*, *dhauli* (Assam), of which *dhurā*, *bakhlī* & *dhaulī* are not applicable to this plant species. But the commercial '*Lendia/Lende*' is of great historical importance[9] reflecting its affiliation to the ancient place of the same name in the north-western frontier area, which has been discussed by the senior author elsewhere.

Now the entity, identity and relativity of the still older and more widely pervading epithet '*SYANDANA*' alone remains to be defined and settled in this context. In this connection, it may be mentioned that the epithet '*SYANDANA/ SPANDNA*' appears in one passage of the *Ṛgveda* (III. 5 .14) to mean a '*chariot*'[10] and later on in the *Kauśika Sūtra* (VIII.150) to mean a 'wood', probably used for making the chariot. No other mention of it is met with elsewhere in the Vedic literature, suggesting thereby that the application of this epithet to any one specific tree was not known. The sequence in the above references also shows the shifting of the application from *sādhya* to *sādhana* as is evinced in

9. '*Lendia*' is comparable with 'Linden Tree' mentioned by Herodotus, the Father Historian (Herodotus, Book V, p. 316. Details of Scythians).

10. Singh, R. S., *Basis and Philosophy of Plant Nomenclature in Ancient India.*

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many ancient plant names.[11] The same status of *SYANDNA/SPANDANA* is also evinced in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (IV. 3. 151), where the affix *aÑ* comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words *palāśa* & c where *Syandana* (*spandana*) has been read in the *pāṭha* of this *palāśādigaṇa* at serial number 4. Thus by adding the affix *aÑ* to *syandana/spandana*, *syāndanam/spāndnam* meaning 'that of *syandana/spandana*' are derived. No other notice is evinced in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. In the later Indian texts and tradition *syandana/spandana* shows of the nature of a multi-meaning name applicable to many timber-trees formerly used for making chariot-wheels, axles, etc., characterised by their hard, tough, elastic and durable, wood.[12] Thus this epithet seems to be of generic, rather than specific application, focussing for its origin in the *syandana*[13] in the meaning of chariot/carriages. Similar is the fate of the colloquialised forms of these epithets in the regional and folk usage[14]. Historians are of the opinion that chariot (probably horse-driven) was an important war-carriage of the

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11. N. B. The words पलाश, खदिर, शिंशपा and स्यन्दन of the पलाशादिगण being gravely accented on the first syllable, the affix was obligatory by the *sūtra* IV, 3.140. But this *sūtra* has been framed to allow option in the case of these epithets of the *gaṇa*, reflecting thereby such convention in usage, prevailing in the area.

12. The colloqnial names सानन, छानन, पानन are loosely used for तिनिश and other timbers of this complex also with better frequency in their currency in western side (Field Notes of Prof. R. S. Singh).

13. स्यन्दन meaning 'chariot', seems to have been derived from साद = horse/pony, from which is also derived सादी (→सादित्) = (1) horse-rider; (2) सूत (chariot-driver).

'.................साद्यश्वारोह सूतयोः ।' (वैजयन्ती,द्व्यक्षरकाण्ड,पुल्लिगाध्याय)

'स्यन्दनो रथः.................. ।' (वैजयन्ती ३.७.१२४)

However in the context of '*spundana*', the root (अ) + स्य ( Iranian = horse) may also be noticed. Similar analogy is seen in चक्री which suggests (1) the chariot (वैजयन्ती ३.७.१२४) and also (2) the ass and (3) तिनिश (राजनिघण्टु-परिशिष्ट) ।

14. *Cf.* (i) स्यन्दन > सन्नन > सानन ।

(ii) स्यन्दन > Palatalised शन्नन > छन्नन > छानन ।

(iii) स्पन्दन > स्पान्दन > पन्नन > पानन ।

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Indo-European Aryans, conjecturing its introduction also thereby with them in various lands of their immigration. But on the contrary based on various other evidences and those revealed with Archaeological finds[15], there is reason to believe that carts and carriages were already in use by the people of the Indus Valley Civilization and Sumer belonging to the Pre-Aryan people and civilization; and in this regard, western import to the Indus land shows more probability. In this context it is worth mentioning that the Phoenicians, who were the very ancient adventurous traders, are though evinced to have come into history about circa 1500 B. C., but their important city 'Sidon' was existing since long long before. A chain of sequence of the place name, later on probably to areas and its people also, is evinced upto Indian border till cir. 10 cent. A. D., in 'Fort Sandman' area (an old area in Baluchistan), 'Sinduman' in Sehwan, 'Sandhanwala'[16] in Bahawalpur and 'Seidon' on the mouth of the western Indian coast. Though some reflection[17] of this epithct is also evinced incidently like the Pāṇinian *cāturarthika sūtras*, is the mention of *sādanī* as synonym for *śiṁśapā* and '*sādanī*' being applicable as surname also; but all the prior reflections are more so related originally to the '*syandana*' (in the sense of chariot)' and in the generalsed sense to the various suitable wood for it, rather than any specific plant-species exclusively represented by it. Hence, the authors are inclined to conclude that '*syandana*' has generalised application, unlike *dhava*, *tiniśa*, *sidhraka* etc. and if at all for representing some plant species, it may be taken as synonym for *siddhraka* rather than for other member of the ancient timber tree complex mentioned earlier.

Now, the identity of *siddhraka/siddhrakā* and *syandana/ spandana* being resolved, in the following paragraphs the Greek, phonetic influence on the word-formation of epithet '*siddhraka*' as has been evinced in this study, which is the main theme of this paper, will be presented. In this context, we should first make a retrospective visualisation of the politico-

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15. See *Archaeological Surveys*' (WALTER, A. Fair-servis). Asses used to draw chariots in Sumer. *Cf.*—
चक्री = रथ (वैजयन्तीकोश ३.७.१२४); (२) चक्री = तिनिश, गर्दभ (राजनिघण्टु)

16. Sir Aurel STEIN explored the archaeological sites along the ancient bed of the lost Sarasvatī and has mentioned this '*Sandhanwala*' in modern Bahawalpur (HERAS, Introduction, p. 5).

17. See *Index of Dhanvantrai Nighaṇṭu* with *Rāja Nighaṇṭu* Anandashrama Press, Poona, 1926.

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historical background of the areas in terms of Indo-Greek inter-relation and mutual impact in the contemporary, prior and the following period ef Pāṇini. Though, documentray evidence of direct Indo-Greek relations and mutual impacts are known with the invasion and Indian compaign of Alexander the great, as has been recorded by his historians, but indirect Indo-Greek contacts no doubt took place even earlier in the 6th cent. B. C., when the Persian Acheaemenid kings annexed some Indian frontier area in their eastern Satrapy and they also made their victorions compaigns westwards to the Hellenistic domains. The Persian conquest of India unlocked to the Greeks a new world with a new people, which is reflected in the Greek literature from the 6th cent. B. C. and onwards. About 510 B. C Darius, the Great, sent a Greek mercenary named Scylax of Caryanda to sail down the river Indus. With the invasion of Alexander, the Great, the Indo-Greek interaction got better exposition, which furthered spur after him with the matrimonial alliance of the Mauryan Emperor Candragupta with Seleucus, who was the governor of the Asian part of the Greek empire and ceded some of the eastern Greek Satraps to Candragupta. The classical Greek writings and works of the Greek historians serve better mirror to the Indian History of the time than our own sources. Even before the invasion of Alexander, the north-western Indian frontier area up to Bactria and contiguous areas were inhabited by de-Hellenised Greek communities, which, though, retaining their own traditions hed free exchanges, hybridisation, amalgamation and assimilation with the existing Indian communities, their culture and traditions, thonghts, etc. The source of Greek names of these Indo-Greeks was Indian Geography. The final 'ka' in ihe Greek forms of their name is a common suffix to ethnic names; which seems to have been accepted in the Sanskrit grammar vide '*svārthe kaN*'. As such, the Greek sources and evidences prove immensely helpful in making approach to the actual original forms of technical/name and other epithets. Looking to these politico-historical situations, Greek influence in the Pāṇinian vocabulary seem to be an evident inference.

The Pāṇinian (*siddhraka/siddhrakā*) has shown its affiliations and transformation in word-structure from the Sanskrit '*Kṣudraka*' through Greek phonetic influence, the evidences and the process of this transformation is discussed as follows :—

In the Sanskrit literature '*Mālavas*' and '*Kṣudrakas*' have been mentioned together as minor warrior tribes of Kṣattriyas inhabiting the lower

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northwestern frontier region (later Multan). This ethnic epithet probably got its application in Pāṇinian four-fold senses. The epithet *kṣudraka* may be derived from *kṣudra* by adding the Greek affix *ka*(*kṣudra* + *ka*). The epithet *kṣudraka* seems to be the second derivative, having the same meaning of the Pāṇinian *kṣudra* which is enumerated in the *gaṇapāṭha* of the *Utkarādin gaṇa* (Pāṇini IV.2.90) which is a *cāturarthika sūtra*. This *kṣudraka* occurs again in the *khaṇḍikādigaṇa* (IV.2.45)', where the *vārtikakāra*[18] defines the applications of the affix *aÑ* in the sense of 'collection thereof after the words *khaṇḍika* & c., in which he mentions *kṣudraka* and *mālava* also. Thus in the Pāṇinian references *kṣudra/kṣudraka* is an ethno-geagraphical epithet, having its probability of application to economic plant of the same name also. Mention may also be made at this juncture to show the prior affiliation of this ethnic term to the *kṣudramīnāḥ*[19], a people in the northern division, the trace of whose name may be found in Ooch, a city situated just below the confluence of the Sutlej with the Chenab and they might have occupied the district of Ooch together with the adjoining province of Bahawalpur[20]. The mention of these *kṣudrakas* has also been made by the historians of Alexander, the word being transformed under Greek phonetic influence as 'oxydraKoi' (Arrian), 'sudrakae' (Curtius), Sydrakrion (Diodorus) and also 'Sydra' (Roman writer Pliny). The Sanskrit *kṣudra/kṣudraka* later on in the Sanskrit texts and tradition and also in colloquial usage, if any, is dissociated from the ethno-geographical[21] appellation and also from its reflections of fourfold senses[22], the same being transformed excelusively to the group of its Greek transforms, which again despict two different chains, one with '*i*' and the other with '*u*' pronunciation. The first chain has *siddhraka* and its various distorted forms and the other retains *śudraka/śūdraka*, which has also been mentioned in the *Āśvādigaṇa* (Pāṇini, IV.I.110) enumerating epithets reflecting *gotra*-descendants. The later sequence of the mention of *śūdraka* in this affiliation is also evinced in the *Mahābhārata* (II.32,10;IX.37.1) where the

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18. वार्तिक— 'क्षुद्रकमालवात् सेनासंज्ञायाम् ।'
19. बृहत्संहिता, भाग १, अ० १४.२४.
20. B. N. PURI, *India in Classical Greek Writings.*
21. क्षुद्रक > क्षुल्लक (प्राकृत) = small, inferior, diminutive.
22. क्षुद्रक > Siddēkōs (Gk.) सिद्रक > सिद्दक, सिध्रक > सिद्ध > सिद, सिध, सीधा ।
क्षुद्रक > शूद्रक, शुद्रक ।

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Śūdras are associated with Ābhīras and are located in the western Rajputana near Vinaśana. Alexander's historians call them 'Sodarai', who lived between the Indus and the Sutlej above the confluence of the five rivers near Mitthankot and south of the district of Multan. They had their capital on the Indus. The similar information has been endorsed by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, where a people and their country has been mentioned in the South-Western division, reflecting further lower down shifting of the Pāṇinian *kṣudrakas*>*sidhrakas* (Sūdrakas). In the context of this Greek phonetic influence giving rise to new word formation, it may also be mentioned that though in Sanskrit *a*, *i*, *u* and their long forms are not interchangable, because it has developed only quantitative ABLAUT, but in Greek they are interchangeable which has developed also the process of qualitative change of vowels, i. e., qualitative ABLAUT. Thus it is evident that the above word transformation of *kṣudraka* also follows the Greek analogy. These findings regarding the Pāṇinian plant-species *SIDDHRAKA/SIDDHRAKĀ* in affiliation with *SYANDANA/SPANDANA* are being highlighted for the first time by the authors.

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Sreeramula Rajeswara SARMA, Aligarh:

# *VARṆAMĀLIKĀ* SYSTEM OF DETERMINING THE FINENESS OF GOLD IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA*

Testing the fineness of gold by means of the touchstone is an ancient practice in India. The principle underlying this process is this: gold or any other mineral, when rubbed against the rough surface of the touchstone, leaves a streak of fine powder on the stone and this powder shows a more constant colouration than the same mineral in a massive form. Therefore the colour of the streak is a more correct index of the quality of the mineral than its surface colour.[1] For testing gold in this fashion, a series of gold pieces with descending degrees of finenesss is prepared by alloying pure gold with appropriate quantities of base metals. The gold to be tested is rubbed on the touchstone, and the streak thus produced is compared with the streaks produced by the series of standard gold pieces.

The colour of the streak is called *varṇa* and, by a transference of meaning, *varṇa* connotes the touch or the degree of fineness of gold. *Varṇamālikā* then is the technical term for the series of gold pieces with regularly descending degrees of fineness, which every gold-tester should prepare and possess. For easy handling, the standard gold pieces were cast in an elongated shape like pencils, and the respective degrees of fineness were probably marked on them. These pencils or test sticks are

* Paper read at the Fifth World Sanskrit Conference, Varanasi, October 21-26, 1981.

1. Cf. M. KUZIN and N. EGOROV, *Field Manual of Minerals*, tr. from Russian by V. AGRANAT, Moscow 1976, p. 10.

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styled *svarṇaśalākās*,[2] or *varṇaśalākās*,[3] or *parīkṣāśalākās*,[4] or merely *śalākās*.[5] In Akbar's mint, as the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* reports, these standard gold pieces were made in the shape of small balls of one *māṣa* each and mounted on long brass needles On each of these needles, its degree of fineness was written.[6]

## 1. The Sources

References to the touchstone, especially in its figurative sense, are plenty in Sanskrit literature,[7] yet descriptions of the actual process of testing are rather rare. Kauṭilya was the first to discuss this method of testing in the *Suvarṇādhyakṣa-prakaraṇa* of his *Arthaśāstra*. He uses the word *varṇa* in sense of degree of fineness[8] and designates the standard gold pieces as *varṇaka* or *varṇikā*.[9] The term *varṇikā* in feminine seems to suggest the *śalākā* shape of the standard gold pieces.

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2. *The Gaṇita-sāra-saṅgraha of Mahāvīrācārya*, with English Translation and Notes by M. RANGACARYA, Madras 1912, p. 91.

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4. *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha*, p. 90.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 91; *The Pāṭīgaṇita of Śrīdharācārya*, with an ancient Sanskrit commentary. Edited with Introduction, English Translation and Notes by Kripa Shankar SHUKLA, Lucknow 1959, p. 69 ff.

6. *The Ā'īn-i Akbarī by Abū'l-Fazl 'Allāmī*. Translated from the original Persian by H. BLOCHMANN. [Second ed. revised and edited by Lieut. Colonel D. C. PHILLOT, Calcutta 1927], reprint, New Delhi 1977, Vol. I, p. 19.

7. References from the Sanskrit *kāvyas* are too numerous to be noted here. Suffice it to say that Bilhaṇa in the first canto of his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* uses the image of the touchstone as many as four times (I. 3, 19, 24, 54). More important is Pāṇini's reference to *ākarṣika*, itenerant gold-tester (IV. 4.49; V. 2.64), cf. V. S. AGRAWALA, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, 2nd ed., Varanasi 1963, p. 235.

8. *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, ed. R. P. KANGLE, pt. I, second ed., Bombay 1969, II. 14.5, 10.

9. *Ibid.*, II. 13.15-16.

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The manufacture of the test sticks involves the calculation of the proportions of gold and base metals in each stick. Given the price of pure gold, the price of gold of any degree of fineness is calculated by the Rule of Three (*trairāśika*). In calculating the exchange of gold of a certain degree against gold of another degree, the inverse Rule of Three (*vyastatrairāśika*) is employed. Hence, in illustrating these rules, Sanskrit arithmetical texts include a number of problems related to the fineness of gold.[10] Notable among these are Mahāvīrācārya's *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* (*c*. 850 AD) and Śrīdharācārya's *Pāṭīgaṇita* (*c*. 991 AD). These two texts contain valuable information on the *Varṇamālikā*.

Our next sources are Pherū's *Dravyaparīkṣā* and *Gaṇitasāra*. Ṭhakkura Pherū, a Jaina polymath, was employed in the treasury of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khalji and subsequently became the assay-master in Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak's Delhi mint. The dates of his Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa works range from 1291 AD to 1318 AD. His *Gaṇitasāra*, a work on arithmetic, contains a section entitled *Suvarṇavyavahāra*. The *Dravyaparīkṣā*, written in 1318 AD, is a manual for assayers and at the same time a catalouge of coins. It describes the techqniues of assaying gold and silver by the "loss of weight in melting" method and by the *Varṇamālikā* method and

10. Mahāvīrācarya, *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* (*c*. 850 AD), V. 169-215.
Āryabhaṭa II, *Mahāsiddhānta*, (*c*. 950 AD), XV. 38-41.

Śrīdharācārya, *Pāṭīgaṇita* (*c*. 991 AD), rules 52B-58, examples 36, 61-70.

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Śrīpati, *Gaṇitatilaka* (*c*. 999 AD), p. 74, *v*. 96.

Bhāskarācārya, *Līlāvatī* (*c*. 1114AD), *vv*. 98, 103-111.

Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, *Gaṇitakaumudī* (1356 AD), pt. 1, pp. 76-83.

I have not been able to procure the *Bakshāli Manuscript*, but from K. S. Shukla's references to this text in his tr. of the *Pāṭīgaṇita*, pp. 36-42, it is evident that it contains a number of problems dealing with gold.

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includes assays of some 260 types of coins, made of gold, silver, gold-silver-copper alloy, billon, and copper, belonging to the 13th and 14th centuries [11]

Two centuries later, Abū'l-Faẓl in his encyclopaedic work, the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, describes the *Varṇamālikā* system under the title *Bānwārī*. These are our sources for the history of the *Varṇamālikā*.

## 2. The Number of Varṇas

Let us consider the number of *varṇas* into which the fineness of gold was graded at various times in India. Kauṭilya grades gold into 16 *varṇas*, perhaps on the analogy of the 16 *kalās* of another shining object, the moon. The Sanskrit mathematical texts also conceive of 16 *varṇas*. This seems to be the traditional system.

Mahāvīrācārya gives the following example in his *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha*:

> [Three] merchants, well acquainted with the *varṇa* of gold, were desirous of making test sticks of gold, and produced [such] golden sticks...The [various specimens of the test sticks of] gold in the case of the first [merchant] were [regularly] less by 1 [in *varṇa*]; those of the second were less by ½ and ½; and those of the third were [in regular order] less by ¼.[12]

That is to say, the test sticks were made in descending order of fineness with an interval of 1 *varṇa*, or ½ *varṇa*, or ¼ *varṇa*. That this is not a hypothetical problem in allegation but reflects the actual practice will be evident from Pherū and Abū'l-Faẓl.

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11. Pherū's works including the *Dravyaparīkṣā* and *Gaṇitasāra* have been published in: JINAVIJAYAMUNI (ed.), *Ṭhakkura-Pherū-viracita-Ratnaparīkṣādi-sapta-grantha-saṃgraha*, Jodhpur 1941. See also, V. S. AGRAWALA, "Ṭhakkura-Pherū-viracitā Prākṛtabhāṣābaddhā Dravyaparīkṣā," *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, 3.2; 4.1 (1964-65), pp. 75-94 and "Dravyaparīkṣā of Ṭhakkura Pherū," *Ibid.*, 7 (1969), pp. 100-114; Bhanwar Lal NAHATA, *Ṭhakkura Pherū viracita Dravyaparīkṣā aur Dhātūtpatti*, Vaishali 1976. The present writer is preparing an English translation of the *Dravyaparīkṣā* and *Gaṇitasāra*.

12. V. 193-195 A, as translated by RANGACARYA, p. 144.

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Śrīdharācārya's *Pāṭīgaṇita* also contains problems related to the manufacture of test sticks and uses for the first time the term *Varṇamālikā*. Here is Śrīdhara's example:

> A series of *varṇas* is to be coustructed with [gold] pencils each weighing 2 *māṣakas*, from 16 *varṇa* (*akṣaya*) to 10 *varṇa* (*ṣaṭkṣaya*), uniformly diminishing by ¼ *varṇa*. For this purpose, how much gold of 16 *varṇa* and how much of 10 *varṇa* should be taken [in each case]? If you happen to know, calculate quickly and tell.[13]

Here also gold was graded into 16 *varṇas* and the *Varṇmālikā* was made from 16 *varṇa* downwards, each stick being less by ¼ *varṇa* than the previous one. Śrīdhara gives an additional piece of information that *varṇa* is further subdivided into *yavas*.[14] The anonymous commentary on the *Pāṭīgaṇita* makes it clear that *varṇa* is divided into 16 *yavas*.[15] We shall see from Pherū's *Dravyaparīkṣā* that this was also an actual practice.

Other mathematical texts do not deal with the preparation of the test sticks. But frequent mention of gold of 16 *varṇa* shows that these texts also follow the 16 *varṇa* system of gradation.

Another system of gradation into 12 *varṇas* is mentioned for the first time in Pherū's works. In an identical *gāthā* occurring both in the

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13. *dvimāṣakasalākābhiḥ kartavyā varṇamālikāḥ |*
*akṣayāt ṣaṭkṣayam yāvat pādavarṇakṣayakramāt ||*
*tataḥ ṣoḍaśakād dhemno daśakāc ca kiyat kiyat |*
*gṛhyate gaṇayitvāsu yadi vetsi tad ucyatām ||* examples 67-68, p. 69.

K. S. Shukla misconstrues *pādavarṇakṣayakramāt* when he renders it as "uniformly increasing by ¼ *kṣaya*" (p. 40), for he does not translate the word *varṇa* and the text has no word for "increasing." *Kṣaya* in this compound is not a technical term in the sense of degree of impurity as in *akṣaya* and *ṣatkṣaya*, but means merely "diminishing."

14. *Pāṭīganita*, rule 56, p. 69.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 63 ff.

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*Dravyaparīkṣā* and *Gaṇitasāra*, Pherū states: *solahi javehi vannī bārahi vannī mahākaṇao*,[16] "sixteen *javas* make one *vannī*, and [that which is of] 12 *vannī* is pure gold." *Vannī* is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *varṇin*, "having *varṇa*." Pherū uses the word in the sense of *varṇa*, and also in the sense of *varṇin* as in *bārahi vannī*, "gold of 12 *varṇa*." Though the *Dravyaparīkṣā* is written in Prakrit *gāthās*, it contains sub-headings and colophons at the end of some sections in a corrupt form of Sanskrit. Here *varṇamālikā* becomes *vanamālikā*.

Pherū subdivides the *vannī* into 16 *javas*, but teaches us how to make test sticks with $\frac{1}{4}$ *vannī* interval. Though not expressly stated, these two divisions are connected with two different modes of gold testing described by Pherū. One is with the touchstone and test sticks. This is necessarily a rough method where the fineness can be measured up to a quarter *vannī*. For finer testing, the other method has to be employed where gold is weighed, then melted to separate the impurities and then weighed again. The loss in weight shows the degree of fineness. This process is called *cāsaṇiya* in the *Dravyaparīkṣā*.[17] Here the fineness of gold can be determined up to 1 *java* or $\frac{1}{16}$ *vannī*.

Abū'l-Faẓl also speaks of the 12-*varṇa* system. In the Hindi of his days, *varṇa* became *bān*, and this process of testing was known as *Bānwārī*. Like Pherū, Abū'l-Faẓl describes the manufacture of the series of test sticks with $\frac{1}{4}$ *bān* interval, but does not mention the division of the *bān* into 16 *javas*.

The following remark by the author of the *Ā'īn-i Akbari* offers us a glimpse of another system prevailing outside India: "The highest degree of purity is called in Persia *dahdahī*, but they do not know above 10

16. *Dravyaparīkṣā*, v. 38; *Gaṇitasūra* I. 10.

17. *Dravyaparīkṣā*, v. 4, *passim*. In the Sanskrit sub-headings, *cāsaṇiya* becomes *cāsanikā*.

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degrees."[18] It is remarkable that in this context Abū'l-Faẓl does not mention the traditional 16-*varṇa* system. This silence implies that by his time the 12-*varṇa* system replaced the former one, at least in North India. It may be noted that the 12-*varṇa* division is akin to the 24-carat division, for 1 *varṇa* is equal to 2 carats. It would be interesting to know where this 12-*varṇa* system originated and when it was introduced into India. All that can be said at the present stage is that it was not borrowed from Persia where the *dahdahī* system was in vogue, and that it was employed in Delhi at the beginning of the 14th century.[19]

### 3. Names for Pure Gold and Baser Varieties

Leaving aside the purely decriptive terms like *taptakāñcana*, there are several technical terms for pure gold in Sanskrit. Kauṭilya calls pure gold *hāridra*, "turmeric-coloured."[20] The *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* terms it *kalyāṇakanaka*.[21] In the *Pāṭīgaṇita* it has the designations *kalyāṇasuvarṇa*[22] and *akṣayasuvarṇa*.[23] Akin to the latter is the *nirupakṣaya* used in

18. *Ā' in-i Akbari*, p. 18.

19. Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, in his *Gaṇitakaumudī* (completed on 10 November 1356) employs the 16-*varṇa* system (pt. 1, pp. 77-78). It is, however, not known to which area he belonged. Either the 12-*vannī* system did not spread all over India in the fourteenth century and was only cofined to the Delhi region, or Nārāyaṇa followed the earlier writers on mathematics in adopting the 16-*varṇa* system.

20. *Arthaśāstra* II. 13.15.

21. IV. 18, p. 60. Cf. also *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* III.3.123: *kalyāṇaṃ kāñcane śubhe*; *Medinīkosa* XV.40: *kalyāṇam akṣayasvarṇe* (the meaning 'Himmel' [heaven] given for *kalyāṇa* in both the Sanskrit dictionaries from St. Petersburg is based on a corrupt reading of this line—*akṣayasvarge*); Budhasvāmin's *Bṛhatkathāślokasamgraha* XVIII. 543: *mama tv āsīd ayam śailo hiraṇmayaśilaḥ sphuṭam / kalyāṇaṃ kāñcanaṃ cāsminn asmatkalyāṇakāranam//* *Rājanighaṇṭu* XIII.8, however, understands *kalyāṇa* as gold in general and not as pure gold.

22. *Pāṭīgaṇita*, example 42, p. 47; also Śrīdhara's *Triśatikā*, example 48, p. 20.

23. *Pāṭīgaṇita*, example 67, p. 69.

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the *Mānasollāsa*.[24] Pherū has several names : *bhittikaṇaä*,[25] *bhittisuvanna*,[26] *dhurakaṇaya*[27] *mahākaṇao*.[28]

Of these names, *akṣayasuvarṇa* and *nirupakṣaya* owe their origin to the process of refining gold. When gold is refined, it is frequently weighed to see if there is any loss (*kṣaya*, *upakṣaya*) in weight indicating the loss of impurities. When there is no further loss, the gold is *akṣaya* or *nirupakṣaya* and pure.[29] The *akṣayasuvarṇa* has a mathematical connotation as well. *Kṣaya* means loss, diminution, negative quantity, minus and so on. In the *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* and *Pāṭīgaṇita*, which follow the 16-*varṇa* system, *kṣaya* denotes the proportion of impurities just as *varṇa* denotes the proportion of pure gold. Hence *varṇa* and *kṣaya* are related by the formula "16—*kṣaya*=*varṇa*."[30] This formula shows the real significance of *kṣaya*, viz. the number to be subtracted from 16 to obtain the *varṇa*. Here *akṣaya* is gold with zero impurities and *ṣaṭkṣaya* means gold with 6 parts impurities, i. e. gold of 10 *varṇa*.[31]

*Kalyāṇasuvaraṇa*, or °*kanaka* and *mahākaṇaä* do not need an explanation; what is pure is auspicious and great. *Bhittikaṇaä* probably refers to brittle

24. I.4.395.
25. *Dravyaparīkṣā*, vv. 17, 21-23, 34.
26. *Ibid.*, v. 39.
27. *Ibid.*, v. 37.
28. *Ibid.*, v. 38.
29. See *Mānasollāsa* I. 4. 395; *puṭīkṛtyānale taptam svarṇam nirupakṣayam | tat syāt ṣoḍaśavarṇākhyam kośe sthāpgyaṃ tad eva hi ||*
30. See K. S. Shukla's remark, *Pāṭīgaṇita*, tr. p. 38.
31. *Pāṭīgaṇita*, examples 67-68, p. 69. M. Rangacarya in his translation of the *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* does not appreciate the significance of the term *kṣaya* and treats *varṇa* and *kṣaya* as synonyms. Thus he renders V. 170 : *ekakṣayam ekaṃ ca dvikṣayam ekaṃ ca trivarṇam ekaṃ ca* as "There are 1 part of gold of 1 *varṇa*, 1 part of 2 *varṇas*, 1 part of 3 *varṇas*." See also his translation of V. 171, 179, 181 etc.

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nature of pure gold. I am unable to say what the Prakrit word *dhura-kaṇaya* signifies.

Apart from these terms, there are others based on the degree of purity or impurity. In the 16-*varṇa* system, pure gold is styled *ṣoḍaśavarṇaka*. In a verse quoted by Hemacandra in his *Kāvyānuśāsanaviveka*, the fair complexion of the women of Kashmir is described thus :

*kāśmīrīgātralekhāsu lolallāvaṇyavīciṣu |*
*drāvayitveva vinyastaṃ svarṇaṃ ṣoḍaśavarṇakam ||*[32]

Likewise in the 12-*varṇa* system, pure gold is called *bārahi vanni* (Pherū) or *bārahbānī* (Abū'l-Fazl). In Jāyasī's *Padamāvata*, it is said

*Dillī nagara ādi Turakānū | jahān Alāudīna sulatānū ||*
*sona dharaï jehi ke ṭakasārā | bāraha bāni calaï dīnārā ||*[33]

Adulterated gold is designated according to the degree of fineness such as *daśavarṇasuvarṇa* etc., or according to the amount of impurities such as *ekakṣaya*, *ṣaṭkṣaya* and so on.

## 4. Base Metals alloyed with Gold

Kauṭilya recommends mixing copper with gold for preparing the tes sticks. The mathematical texts, understandably, do not inform us about the nature of the base metal alloyed with gold, but they designate it ast *kṣaya* as we have seen already, and also as *prapūraṇī* or *prapūraṇikā*, "that with which pure gold is filled in order to make adulterated gold of the desired *varṇa*."[34]

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32. *Kāvyānuśāsana* by Ācārya Hemacandra, ed. Rasiklal C. Parekh, vol. I, Bombay 1938, p. 186. I am greatful to Professor R. S. Tripathi who drew my attention to this verse and also to the following one by Jāyasī.

33. *Padamāvata*, 38.11 (=490).

34. *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha* V. 192, 195, pp. 90-91.

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The state of affairs is more complex in Pherū's *Dravyaparīkṣā*. According to this text, gold is alloyed with silver and copper. For this mixture of silver and copper, which is added to the pure gold for making the test sticks and also for setting gems in gold, Pherū has a collective designation "*rīsa*." The *Dravyaparīkṣā* prescribes two methods of preparing the test sticks, and the ratio of gold to *rīsa* is different in each method, so also the ratio of silver to copper within the *rīsa*. In the first method 77.5% silver and 22.5% copper constitute the *rīsa*,[35] whereas in the second method the proportions are 77% silver and 23% copper.[36]

The *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* has yet another method of preparing the *risa* which is styled "composition" in Blochmann's English translation. This composition is made of 1 part pure silver, 1 part best copper and six parts "pure gold of 10½ degrees."[37] About this third constituent, we shall speak later on.

## 5. Ratio of Gold to Base Metal(s)

The ratio of gold to base metal(s) in each *varṇa* naturally differs from the 16-*varṇa* system to the 12-*varṇa* system. But within the 16-*varṇa* system Kauṭilya's ratios pose some problems in interpretation. Again in the 12-*varṇa* system, Pherū gives two sets of ratios and Abū'l-Fazl a third one.

It will be best to begin with the mathematical texts which follow the 16-*varṇa* system and which may help us understand Kauṭilya at the one end and Abū'l-Fazl at the other. In all the calculations related to the

35. *Dravyaparīkṣā*, v. 33.

36. *Ibid.*, v. 36.

37. *Ā' īn-i Akbarī*, p. 19.

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fineneness of gold, the implication is that the *varṇa* not only denotes the degree of fineness of gold but also the number of parts of pure gold, because the degree of fineness is in direct proportion to the quantity of pure gold. The same is the case with the 24-carat system. This should be kept in mind because any deviation from this principle needs an explanation. According to the mathematical texts, the ratios of gold to base metals are as follows: in 16-*varṇa* gold 16 : 0, in 15-*varṇa* gold 15 : 1 and so on. (see Table I)

Kauṭilya's rule should be examined in this light. The rule reads thus (II.13.15-16):

> *śuddhasyaiko hāridrasya suvarṇo varṇakaḥ/ tataḥ śulbakākāṇy-uttarāpasāritā ā catuḥsīmāntād itī ṣoḍaśa varṇakāḥ/*

KANGLE, following J. J, MEYER,[38] translates this passage thus:

> One *suvarṇa* of pure, turmeric-coloured (gold) is the standard. Thence by the substitution of one *kākaṇī* copper onwards (in a *suvarṇa* of gold) up to the limit of four (*māṣakas*) sixteen standards are obtained.[39]

On this KANGLE makes the following remark:

> *Kākaṇī* and *suvarṇa* are nowhere in the text brought into relation with one another. A *kākaṇī* is a copper coin 1/4th of a *māṣaka* in value (2.12.24). It seems that here it is understood to be 1/4th of a *māṣaka* in weight, though the two *māṣakas* are different; so that a *suvarṇa* would be equal to 64 *kākaṇīs*. By substituting 1, 2, 3 etc. *kākaṇīs* of copper in place of gold in a *suvarṇa*, we get 16 touches

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38. *Das Altindische Buch vom Weltund Staatsleben. Das Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya.* Aus dem Sanskrit uebersetzt und mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen versehen von Johan Jakob MEYER, Leipzig 1926; reprint: Graz 1977, pp. 123-24. I am beholden to Professor Wilhelm RAU who sent me extracts from this book.

39. *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* pt 2, p. 112.

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with proportions of gold and copper ranging from 63 : 1 to 48 : 16 (the 16 *kākaṇīs* in the last make 4 *māṣakas* which in fact is here stated to be the limit, *ā catuḥsīmāntāt*).[40]

There are two objections to this interpretation. First, according to this interpretation, there will not be *ṣodaśa varṇakāḥ* but seventeen, i.e., 16 baser *varṇas* in addition to pure gold. There will further be the absurd situation where gold of 1-*varṇa*, which is the basest form of gold, contains 75% pure gold and will be the equivalent of 12-*varṇa* gold of the mathematical texts or of 18-carat gold. (See Table I). Furthermore, the degrees of fineness will not be proportionate to the quantities of pure gold. The practical disadvantage of such a system is that the 17 standards cover a narrow range from 100% to 75%. How would one test a sample of gold containing less than 75% pure gold ?

The second objection relates to the interpretation of the expression *ā catuḥsīmāntāt*. It is true that *kākaṇī* as a unit of weight is not defined anywhere in the *Arthaśāstra*. If 16 *kākaṇīs* were to constitute a *suvarṇa*, Kauṭilya's 16-*varṇas* would be exactly the same as those of the mathematical texts. But elsewhere (II.14.8) Kauṭilya observes that "in the case of gold and silver (used in the manufacture of articles) a loss of one *kakaṇī* in a *suvarṇa* may be allowed."[41] If *kakaṇī* were 1/16th *suvarṇa*, the loss would be 6.25 %. Such a high loss could not have been condoned. Therefore *kākaṇī* must be a much smaller unit and it is quite possible that it is the 64th part of a *suvarṇa* as Meyer and Kangle conjecture. But there is nothing in the text to warrant the rendering of *ā catuḥsīmāntāt* as "up to the limit of 4 *māṣakas*." What is more likely is that each *varṇa* is further subdivided into 4 quarters for making the series of test sticks with $\frac{1}{4}$ *varṇa* interval as in the later period.

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40. *Ibid.*, p. 112n.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

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Therefore, the rule may be translated thus: "by substituting 1 *kākaṇī* of copper upwards, 16 *varṇakas* [are obtained] up to the limit of 4 [quarters in each *varṇa*]."[42] Then we will have the following ratios for gold and copper:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 16 *varṇa* | 64 : 0 | |
| $15\frac{3}{4}$ *varṇa* | 63 : 1 | |
| $15\frac{1}{2}$ *varṇa* | 62 : 2 | and so on. |

If this interpretation is valid, we will have an uninterrupted tradition from the time of Kauṭilya up to the end of the 13th century—a tradition of 16 *varṇas*, of test sticks with $\frac{1}{4}$ *varṇa* interval and, what is more important, of the *varṇa* being in direct proportion to the quantity of pure gold.

In the 12-*varṇa* system, as we have noted above, Pherū gives two sets of ratios of gold to *rīsa*. We shall take up the second series first because it contains a feature common to the earlier series. This series is obtained thus:

> Take 48 parts pure gold. As you remove one part each time, add the same quantity of *rīsa*. This gives the series of *vannīs* each $\frac{1}{4}$ less than the previous one.[43]

That is to say,

47 parts gold + 1 part *rīsa* will give $\frac{47}{4}=11\frac{3}{4}$ *vannī*

46 ,, + 2 ,, $\frac{46}{4}=11\frac{1}{2}$ *vannī*

and so on. (See Table II).

42. It may be argued that we are reading into the *Arthaśāstra* a state of affairs removed at least by a thousand years. But we are doing no more violence to the text than KANGLE does. While he supplies *māṣakas* in paranthesis after 4, we add "quarters in each *varṇa*" which has, at least, the justification from the later period.

43. *Dravyaparīkṣā*, v. 37 : *seyālīsa vibhāyaṃ dhura kaṇaya karavi ega egūnaṃ / tattulli dijja rīsaṃ kameṇa pāūṇa hui vannaṃ //*

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Since we are operating with $\frac{1}{4}$ *vannīs*, the number of gold parts divided by four is the *vannī*. Here also the *vannī* is in direct proportion to the quantity of pure gold. The computations dealing with gold in *Dravyaparīkṣā*, vv. 38-41 and those in *Gaṇitasāra* III.15-25 anticipate such a direct proportion.

In the first series of ratios given by Pherū, a departure is made from the principle of the *vannī* being in direct proportion to the quantity of pure gold. For this series, Pherū enjoins thus:

> [Depending on] which *vannī* is to be made, [take] so many [*māṣas*] increased by two *javas* pure gold. And the rest [i. e., 12—*x māṣas*] diminished by two *javas* [is the quantity of] *rīsa*. This is the first [ratio of] weights.[44]

If the desired *vannī* is 10, take 10 *māṣas* + 2 *javas* of pure gold, and 2 *māsas* minus 2 *javas* of *rīsa*, or 162 *javas* of pure gold and 30 *javas* of *rīsa*. The ratios of gold to *rīsa* then will be

| | |
|---|---|
| 12 *vannī* | 192 : 0 |
| $11\frac{3}{4}$ *vannī* | 190 : 2 |
| $11\frac{1}{2}$ *vannī* | 186 : 6 and so on. |

(See Table II).

That is to say, in each 12 *māṣas* of adulterated gold, the content of pure gold is higher by 2 *javas* than in the second series. Here the degree of fineness is not directly proportionate to the quantity of pure gold, and the computations dealing with gold as recommended by Pherū cannot be done if gold was alloyed in each case according to these ratios.

Pherū does not explain the purpose of these two series of ratios. A comparison of these two in Table II will show that the gold content of the second series was slightly raised to produce the first series. When

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44. *Ibid.*, v. 34: *jārisa vannī kīraï tittiya du javahiya bhitti kaṇao ya | sesa du javūṇa rīsaṃ evaṃ tolikku havaï paraṃ* ||

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Pherū gives the revised series first and the original series next, the suspicion grows strong that gold standards were revised upwards in Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak's reign. It is well known that Mubārak introduced innovations in minting techniques and that his gold coins were of much superior quality than those of his predecessors.[45] Improvements in minting technology are not unconnected with improvments in gold-refining technology. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that in Mubārak's mint at Delhi the technique of refining gold was improved upon and that the gold refined according to the previous techniques, say of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's time, was slightly inferior to this new gold. In order to bring this 'old' gold at per with the 'new' gold, the gold standards were marginally raised. In other words, the second series of gold standards based on simple proportion were those employed at 'Alā'u-d-dīn's mint, and the first series of the revised standards were used at Mubārak's mint. Therefore, in Tables II and III, Pherū's first series of ratios were attributed to Mubārak's mint and the second series to 'Alā'u-dīn's mint.

That gold standards of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's reign may have been updated in Mubārak's reign owing to the improvements in refining techniques becomes a certainty when we examine the state of affairs in Akbar's mint. Abū'l-Faẓl's description of the *Bānwārī* system is the most elaborate account we have and deserves close scrutity:

> To the ends of a few long needles, made of brass or such like metal, small pieces of gold are affixed, having their degree of fineness written on them. When the workmen wish to assay a new piece of gold, they first draw with it a few lines on a touchstone, and some other lines with the needles. By comparing both sets of lines, they discover the degree of fineness of the gold. It is, however, necessary that the lines be drawn in the same manner, and with the same force, so as to avoid deception.

45. H. Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sutāns of Delhi*, New Delhi 1974, pp. 107-8.

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To apply this rule, it is necessary to have gold of various degrees of fiineness. This is obtained as follows: They melt together one *māshā* of pure silver with the same quantity of best copper; and let it get solid. This mixture they again melt with 6 *māshās* of pure gold of 10½ degrees of fineness. Of this composition one *māshā* is taken, and divided into 16 parts of half a *surkh* each. If now 7½ *surkhs* of pure gold (of 10½ degrees) are mixed with one of the sixteen parts of the composition, the touch of new mixture will only be 10¼ *bān*. Similarly, 7 *surkhs* pure gold and two parts of the composition melted together, will give gold of 10 *bān*, 6½ s. pure gold and three parts composition, 9¾ *bān*... Or generally, every additional half *surkh* (or one part) of the composition diminishes the fineness of gold by a quarter *bān*, the touch of the composition itself being 6½ *bān*.[46]

Apart from the long string of numbers, what is really intriguing is the "pure gold of 10½ degrees." How can pure gold be 10½ degrees when the highest degree of purity, as Abū'l-Faẓl himself says, is 12? The answer to this riddle lies in Abū'l-Faẓl's followihg statement:

Formerly the old *hun*, which is a gold coin current in the Deccan, was thought to be pure, and reckoned at ten degrees; but His Majesty has now fixed it at 8½: and the round small gold *dīnār* of 'Alāu'd-Dīn, which was considered to be 12 degrees, now turns out to be 10½.

Those who are experienced in this business have related wonderful stories of the purity of gold at the present time, and referred to witch-craft or alchemy; for they maintain that gold ore does not come up to this fineness. But by the attention of His Majesty, it has come up to this degree; hence the astonisment of people acquainted with this branch.[47]

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46. *Ā' īn-i Akbari*, pp. 19-20.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

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It is apparent from this statement that gold refining technique almost reached its perfection in Akbar's mint and that therefore the earlier standards of fineness were drastically revised. 'Alū'u-d-dīn's gold *dīnār* was pure by his standards. Pherū does not mention its touch, but there is Jāyasī's testimony to the effect that even in the 16th century popular notion rated it at 12-*bān*. But it measured only 10½ degrees by Akbar's standards. There fore, the curious expression "pure gold of 10½ degrees" actually refers to that gold which was refined by an older technique and passed for pure gold of 12 degrees but which rated only 10½ degrees in Akbar's scale. This is the gold which was available in the market, and with this gold the needles or test sticks were made in order to test it by the new standards. That is why no needles with degrees above 10½ were made.

Keeping this in mind, we shall analyse the ratio of gold to base metals in each quartar *ban*. Henceforth "gold" means "pure gold of 10½ degrees" as used by Abū'l-Fazl.

The composition contains 6 parts gold and 2 parts alloy of silver and copper. Hence ½ *surkh* [s.] of the composition contains 3/8 s. gold and 1/8 s. alloy. This is added to 7½ s. gold for making the needle of 10¼ *bān*. Therefore, 10¼ *bān* contains 15/2 + 3/8 s. gold and 1/8 s. alloy, or 63/8 s. gold and 1/8 s. alloy. The ratio of gold to alloy is 63 : 1. Likewise the ratio in 10 *bān* is 62 : 2 (see Table II). Proceeding in this manner, we arrive at the ratio 41:16 for 6½ *bān*, which is the touch of the composition. A comparison of the percentages of gold for each ¼ *bān* in Table III shows that 'Alā'u-d-dīn's 12 degrees become 10½ in Akbar's scale, the former's 11 degrees are a little higher than the latter's 9 degrees, the former's 9 degrees are at par with the latter's 6½ degrees and so on.

In conclusion, it should be empasised that in general practice the degree of fineness is always in proportion to the quantity of pure gold, no matter whether one follows the 16-*varṇa* system, or the 12-*bān* system, or the 24-carat system. The two recorded departures from the general prac-

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tice—the first one in Mubārak's mint and the second in Akbar's mint—were, in all likelihood, made so that the value of gold refined according to older techniques could be assessed in terms of gold refined according to improved techniques.[48]

48. The Sanskrit sources are silent on testing the fineness of silver. According to both Pherū and Abū'l-Faẓl, the purity of silver was graded into 20 *visuvas*. Abū'l-Faẓl states thus : "In Iran and Tūrān, they also call the highest degree of fineness of silver *dahdahī*; in Hindustān, the *ṣayrafīs* use for it the term *bīst biswa*. According to the quantity of alloy, it descends in degree." (*Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, p. 23) Pherū (*Dravyaparīkṣā*, *vv*. 31-32) teaches how to make test sticks of silver by alloying it with proportionate quantities of copper and brass mixture. In Tavernier's time, small quantities of silver were tested by the touchstone with the help of 13 standards (probably from 20-*visuva* up to 8-*visuva*) whereas large quantities were melted to determine their degree of purity (see *Travels in India* by Jean-Baptiste TAVERNIER, tr. V. BALL, second ed. by William CROOKE, reprint : New Delhi 1977, vol. I, pp. 28-29).

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**Table I**

16—*varṇa* System

| Kauṭilya acc. to Kangle's interprctation | | | Mathematical Texts | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *varṇa* | gold : copper | percentage of gold | *varṇa* | gold : base metal | percentage of gold |
| pure gold | 64 : 0 | 100 | 16 | 16 : 0 | 100 |
| 16 | 63 : 1 | 98.44 | 15 | 15 : 1 | 93.75 |
| 15 | 62 : 2 | 96.88 | 14 | 14 : 2 | 87.5 |
| 14 | 61 : 3 | 95.31 | 13 | 13 : 3 | 81.25 |
| 13 | 60 : 4 | 93.75 | 12 | 12 : 4 | 75 |
| 12 | 59 : 5 | 92.19 | 11 | 11 : 5 | 68.75 |
| 11 | 58 : 6 | 90.63 | 10 | 10 : 6 | 62.5 |
| 10 | 57 : 7 | 89.06 | 9 | 9 : 7 | 56.25 |
| 9 | 56 : 8 | 87.5 | 8 | 8 : 8 | 50 |
| 8 | 55 : 9 | 85.94 | 7 | 7 : 9 | 43.75 |
| 7 | 54 : 10 | 84.38 | 6 | 6 : 10 | 37.5 |
| 6 | 53 : 11 | 82.81 | 5 | 5 : 11 | 31.25 |
| 5 | 52 : 12 | 81.25 | 4 | 4 : 12 | 25 |
| 4 | 51 : 13 | 79.69 | 3 | 3 : 13 | 18.75 |
| 3 | 50 : 14 | 78.13 | 2 | 2 : 14 | 12.5 |
| 2 | 49 : 15 | 76.56 | 1 | 1 : 15 | 6.25 |
| 1 | 48 : 16 | 75 | | | |

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## Table II

### 12-*varṇa* System

### Ratio of Gold to the Alloy of Base Metals

| *vannī* or *bān* | carat | 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khalji's mint | Qutbu-d-dīn Mubārak's mint | Akbar's mint |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | 24 | 48 : 0 | 192 : 0 | |
| 11¾ | 23½ | 47 : 1 | 190 : 2 | |
| 11½ | 23 | 46 : 2 | 186 : 6 | |
| 11¼ | 22½ | 45 : 3 | 182 : 10 | |
| 11 | 22 | 44 : 4 | 178 : 14 | |
| 10¾ | 21½ | 43 : 5 | 174 : 18 | |
| 10½ | 21 | 42 : 6 | 170 : 22 | 64 : 0 |
| 10¼ | 20½ | 41 : 7 | 166 : 26 | 63 : 1 |
| 10 | 20 | 40 : 8 | 162 : 30 | 62 : 2 |
| 9¾ | 19½ | 39 : 9 | 158 : 34 | 61 : 3 |
| 9½ | 19 | 38 : 10 | 154 : 38 | 60 : 4 |
| 9¼ | 18½ | 37 : 11 | 150 : 42 | 59 : 5 |
| 9 | 18 | 36 : 12 | 146 : 46 | 58 : 6 |
| 8¾ | 17½ | 35 : 13 | 142 : 50 | 57 : 7 |
| 8½ | 17 | 34 : 14 | 138 : 54 | 56 : 8 |
| 8¼ | 16½ | 33 : 15 | 134 : 58 | 55 : 9 |
| 8 | 16 | 32 : 16 | 130 : 62 | 54 : 10 |
| 7¾ | 15½ | 31 : 17 | 126 : 66 | 53 : 11 |
| 7½ | 15 | 30 : 18 | 122 : 70 | 52 : 12 |
| 7¼ | 14½ | 29 : 19 | 118 : 74 | 51 : 13 |
| 7 | 14 | 28 : 20 | 114 : 78 | 50 : 14 |
| 6¾ | 13½ | 27 : 21 | 110 : 82 | 49 : 14 |
| 6½ | 13 | 26 : 22 | 106 : 86 | 48 : 16 |

In the third column, the proportion of gold denotes the degree of fineness also in terms of ¼-*vannī*. Thus 44 parts gold and 4 parts copper imply 44/4=11-*vannī*.

In the fourth column, the numbers denote *javas*, the weight of each test stick being 192 *javas*=12 *māṣas*.

In the fifth column, the numbers refer to the 8th part of a *surkh*, the weight of each test needle being 64/8=8*surkhs*=1 *māshā*. Here "gold" denotes "pure gold of 10½ degrees."

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**Table III**

12-*varṇa* System

Percentage of Cold in Gold Standards

| *vannī* or *bān* | 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khalji's mint | Qutbu-d-dīn Mubārak's mint | Akbar's Mint* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | 100 | 100 | |
| 11¾ | 97.92 | 98.96 | |
| 11½ | 95.83 | 96.88 | |
| 11¼ | 93.75 | 94.79 | |
| 11 | 91.67 | 92.71 | |
| 10¾ | 89.58 | 90.63 | |
| 10½ | 87.5 | 88.54 | 100 |
| 10¼ | 85.42 | 86.46 | 98.44 |
| 10 | 83.33 | 84.38 | 96.88 |
| 9¾ | 81.25 | 82.29 | 95.31 |
| 9½ | 79.17 | 80.21 | 93.75 |
| 9¼ | 77.08 | 78.13 | 92.19 |
| 9 | 75 | 76.04 | 90.63 |
| 8¾ | 72.92 | 73.96 | 89.06 |
| 8½ | 70.83 | 71.88 | 87.5 |
| 8¼ | 68.75 | 69.79 | 85.94 |
| 8 | 66.67 | 67.71 | 84.38 |
| 7¾ | 64.58 | 65.63 | 82 81 |
| 7½ | 62.5 | 63.54 | 81.25 |
| 7¼ | 60.42 | 61.46 | 79.69 |
| 7 | 58.33 | 59.38 | 78.13 |
| 6¾ | 56.25 | 57.29 | 76.56 |
| 6½ | 54.17 | 55.21 | 75 |

*Percentage of "pure gold of 10½ degrees."

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Walter LEIFER, West Germany:

# INDIA AS KNOWN TO THE GERMANS THROUGH THE AGES

When we think of Indo-German relations, we could distinguish four phases.

The first phase is that of youthful, often childlike fascination for a country, one does not know, of which one only dreams. The second phase is the stage of getting to know the country personally, the stage of growing acquiantance through daring and adventurous men. The third phase involves the study of spiritual values, for example in Art, Literature and the various aspects of the human sciences and arts. The fourth and culminating phase brings fulfilment—it is the phase of cooperation and partnership.

Let us take a look at these four phases in the history of Indo-German relations.

The first phase seen from the German side was the age of legends, of exaggerated stories about India, the country of miracles, derived partly from ancient sources and re-narrated in fairy-tale form. These stories contained a wealth of fantasy that cannot be surpassed.

This dream about India, this magical name, began ten, eleven centuries ago with Rhabanus Maurus, the Archbishop of Mainz, who was head of the Catholic Church in the German-speaking Europe of the 9th century. In his book *The Universe*, Rhabanus Maurus made a blend of facts and adventure stories. He acquaints his readers with the country named after the river Indus and starts the adventure stories about landscapes in this country covered with silver and gold, about men, their history, the geography, and real animals as well as fantastic creatures like unicorns and dragons.

Since that time India provided vivid inspiration for fairy-tales for all the people of the West. *Reineke Fuchs* (*Renard the Fox*) was one of the

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first such books printed in 1498 in Germany. Undoubtedly it took its inspiration from the *Pañcatantra*. One of the German indologists, Theodor Benfey, whose favourite subject of reserarch has been the old fairy-tales, feels that India has been the cradle of most of these stories.

In these centuries also lighter gifts made their impact on the road to the Western countries. Symbolic colours like the saffron yellow, symbols of divine beauty, symbois like that of the peacock, the vehicle of Sarasvatī, were known in our country too.

Literature could not bypass this India which was a source of inspiration. The poetic symbol of the Middle Ages was the epic personality of Parzival. The poets created a special relationship to India. In the story of Parzival, German poets saw in this hero a son of an Indian royal couple, Feirefiz and Repanse. Parzival is not the only literary contact to this spiritual India. Other literary figures in the poetic works of that time were men like Tristan, like Lohengrin, like Barlam and Josaphat.

The world of India for the people in the German Middle Ages was a dream. The intellectuals of that time were born into the spirit of a religious universality. They influenced therefore also another part of the society in the Middle Ages—the religious sphere. India became a country of a priest-king called Johannes or the Prester John and people were dreaming to find him and his realm. Even in documents, e. g , in a Reform Programme of Emperor Sigismund, there is a mention of this priest-king Johannes. Sigismund wanted to bridge the gap between state and church in his time. He found that only a personality could be a symbol of a State-Church Union, who was known to all his contemporaries. Therefore he found an "Indian Solution" and he pleaded for an Emperor who should be really learned, who should be the patron of spiritual and secular powers. His best argument all his time was: "A priest is Emperor in India, where none can become Emperor unless he is a priest".

This is a short glance at the centuries which in our small recollection of Indo-German relationship could be called the first phase in the history of these contacts.

It is not only a coincidence but also symbolic that in the same year 1498, the story of *Reineke Fuchs—Renard the Fox*—was published for

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the first time, also the Portuguese were landing on the southern shores of India, thereby inaugurating the Lusitanian period of the Indian Ocean. Portuguese ships pushed through the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean and on May 20th, 1498, they landed at Calicut. A new chapter of World history commenced.

In 1505, after the German business houses of the Welser, the Hoechstetter, the Imhof, Hirschvogel and Gossenbrot had founded a common group for trade relations with India, a kind of the first "India Consortium", they outfitted three ships—the names we even know: Hieronymus, Raphael and Leonard—to join the Portuguese fleet to the sub-continent in the centre of the Indian Ocean. This fleet left Lisbon in the same year and came back one year later. One of the Germans, who left a written document of this voyage to India, was the first representative of the business house of the Welser family, Balthasar Sprenger, who published in 1509 his book with a long title, in short called "Merfahrt" or "Voyage over the Sea". Now the first travelogue had appeared about a small part of India—the coast of today's Kerala. We will understand that in Germany, the whole view about the world had changed between the issue of Reineke Fuchs in 1498 and that of the Merfahart in 1509. There was a time of inventions and discoveries in the West : starting with the printing art in Germany, the discoveries of the Iberian nations all over the world. Now this country India, became more a reality. It was not seen by an unknown forgotten pilgrim or felt in the dreams of the poets in epic or in visionary political works, but in fact by visitors who reported about the real people of this India. Of course they were members of business houses, keen to start trade relations. Their works are therefore more in the form of short notebooks.

In the course of a century, these relations were suffering from the envy of Portuguese traders. After 1630-40 the early India trade from German states diminished and died. Only in the beginning of the 18th century Emperor Charles VI started an Imperial Trading Company. This Company with its headquarters at Ostend in today's Belgium was supported by some European States, but the British and the Dutch protested and the diplomatic relations between the courts at London and Vienna ceased. Therefore the Emperor resigned all claims of the Ostend Trading Company in the Peace Negotiations of 1731 at Vienna. Another Company, the Royal Prussian Asia Company, which was set up in 1745, appeared to be more fortunate. There came no attacks at this time from the British

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or another side. The same happened to the Prussian Bengal Trading Company, licenced in 1753. But in the sixties all these attempts from the Prussian side were given up. Other experiments to renew the trading companies at the beginning of the eighties of the 17th century failed.

The Empress Maria Theresia shared her father's interest in international trade especially in India. In 1775 she decreed the foundation of a new India Trading Company, called the Triest Company. The force behind all the new attempts was the Rhinelander Wilhelm Bolts. He started relations to the Nicobar Islands, to Karwar and some stations near Madras. But also this German Triest Company did not survive the famous Empress—in 1785, it closed all its offices. Only the Maria-Theresia-Taler is—even in our times—a last recollection in the area of the Indian Ocean. In 1753, a German private trading company Felix von Oldendurg with a large branch at Lisbon, had the chance to be entrusted with the whole Iberian trade to India. But it almost seemed that in this case nature was jealous. On the 1st of November 1755, Lisbon was destroyed in the most disastrous earthquake so far known in Europe, and with the capital also the Lisbon branch of this trading firm von Oldenburg died.

In such a way the second phase—the era when some adventurous men went personally to India and started relations on an economic level came to an end.

The dawn of the third period which led into the realm of spiritual values was seen.

It was on May 17th, 1791 that an intriguing German personality, a writer, a politician, a lover of art and literature and a revolutionary at the same time, called Georg Forster received from his publisher Johann Peter Fischer of Mainz his German translation of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*. This is a very famous date in the History of the German literature. On the same day, the young German author sent copies to the German poets like Goethe, Herder, his father-in-law Heine, etc. Forster, who had translated this book from the English version of Sir William Jones, had discovered more than only the trantlations. He felt in a congenial way the spirit behind—the spirit of Kālidāsa, the spirit of India. Never before sueh a gift from an author had been received so enthusiastically. Immediately five, six of the most famous personalities on the German literature scene accepted and welcomed the drama *Śakuntalā* and with it the message

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from an ancient poet of India. Forster was a poet too and the reaction to his German translation was also a tribute in the genius of India's most outstanding poet, the personification of Indian womanhood. There now started a wonderful intermezzo in the spiritual world of Germany—the *Śakuntalā* period in the German literature, as I would like to call it. This German translation built bridges also to other literatures, e. g. the Russian by Karamsin, the Dutch, Danish, Swedish, French, Italian and Polish versions were based on George Forster's *Sakontala*. The *Śakuntalā*-excitement is best expressed in Goethe's quadruples. The last line is:

"*Nenn ich, Sakontala, dich, und so ist alles gesagt*"
—I name thee, Sakontala, and all at once is said—

Out of this *Śakuntalā* period the Indological studies were born. In an auspicious moment of history *Sakontala—Śakuntalā* enchanted the German public and enriched the literary outlook and the world view of the Germans and the neighbouring peoples. The two brothers von Schlegel and Franz Bopp were the real founders of Indology and the twin studies of comparative linguistics. In 1818 the first German chair of Indology at Bonn was given to August Wilhelm von Schlegel and in 1821 Franz Bopp was appointed Professor of Indology at Berlin. Now scholars like Otto von Boehtlingk, Rudolf von Roth, editors of the seven volume *St. Petersburg Wörterbuch* (Dictionary), and Friedrich Rosen started the Vedic studies. Max Müller followed. He became the editor of the *Sacred Books of the East* and at the same time he gave us a new branch in Indology, Comparative Religion. Today our Cultural Institutes in India bear his name and Pune's belongs to the oldest ones.

It is impossible to mention all the German shcolars—just men like Paul Deussen, Indologist and philosopher, Hermann Oldenberg, editor of *Brāhmaṇa* Texts, who also wrote about the doctrine of the *Upaniṣads* and the Beginnings of Buddhism, Hermann Jacobi, who gave us his works on Buddhism, Jainism and even tried to ascertain the age of the Vedic literature. He did this research in 1893, the same year when Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak published his "Orion or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas". It is impossible here only to give all the names. So I may also add that the pioneer generations of the German Indology prepared the road to the indological world of today. German Universities have their seminars for Indian studies, for Indo-Germanistic Philology, seminars for the Culture and History of India. Of the many institutes

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I may specially mention the Südostasien–Institut (South East Asia Institute) of the University of Heidelberg, which offers Indological studies under all modern aspects i. e. Indian History, Indian Art and pre-historic Archaelogy, Law, Economics, Ethnology, Geography, Tropical Medicine and Agrarian Science. Here are working scholars like Hermann Berger, Hermann Kopp, Günther Sontheimer, L. Lutze and Heimo Rau. Their names represent dozens and dozens of other scholars devoted to the various aspects of this country. At the same time all these institutes are meeting points between German and Indian scholars.

The foundation of the chain of the Max Müller Bhavan belongs already into the fourth phase of the history of Indo-German relations where we see a climax in Partnership and mutual cooperation in all fields. We have specially in the region of Bombay-Pune many Indo-German joint ventures or firms which started in such cooperation in the economic region. This was possible only when India attained her own freedom, when her people became master of their own destiny. When we hear the words "cooperation" or "partnership", we mostly see the economic or the trade side of our relations. But cooperation is seen growing more and more in all the fields and even in the most sophisticated parts like informations about nuclear science. A cultural agreement concluded on March 20, 1969, gives the basis of our enlarged dialogue in all fields of culture, of art and science.

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APPENDIX—A

# CONTRIBUTORS (for Part II)

Sadashiv A. Dange
'Girnar',
Gokhale Road,
Mulund (East),
Bombay 400081.

A. R. G. Tiwari
Head, P. G. Department of History,
S. P. University,
Vallabhavidyanagar (via Anand),
Gujarat-388120.

S. R. Bhatt
M/P-23, Maurya Enclave,
Pitampura,
New Delhi-110034.

A. Wezelr
Seminar Fur Kultur und Geschichte Indiens,
Universität Hamburg, Hamburg,
West Germany.

K. D. Bharadwaj
C-34/27 Safdarjang Enclave,
Hauz Khas,
New Delhi-110016.

U. N. Dhal
P. G. Department of Sanskrit,
Utkal University,
Bhubaneshwar 751004 (Orissa).

M. C. Joshi
Directer (Antiquities),
Archeological Survey of India,
Janpath,
New Delhi-110011.

Batukanath Shastri Khiste
Shriniketanam,
N-16/43 Patrakaranagar,
Vinayaka, Varanasi.

Vrajvallabha Dviveda
12, Adhyapakaniwas,
Sampurnananda Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya,
Varanasi-221002.

Helmut Eimer
Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität,
Indologisches Seminar,
D-5300, Bonn,
West Germany.

L. Siridhamma Thero
Dharmacakra Vidya Pitha,
Rojopavanaramaya,
Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

Nitin J. Vyas
Painter Tanaji Lane,
Siddhanath Road,
Behind Market,
Baroda-390001.

Rasik Vihari Joshi
C. E. A. A. N.,
El Colegio de Mexico,
Camino al Ajusco No. 20,
Mexico 20, D. F.,
Apartado Postal 20-671.

K. P. Jog
Deccan Collage Post-Graduate and Rescarch Institute,
Poona-411006.

R. C. Hazra
P 555/13, Panditiya Road Extension,
Calcutta-700029.

M. N. Gupta
B-2, Parul Apartments,
Navrangapura,
Ahmedabad-380009.

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UMESH CHANDRA SHARMA
Department of Sanskrit,
S. V. College,
Aligarh-202001.

M. D. BALASUBRAHMANYAM
Principal,
Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha,
Tirupati-517501(Andhra Pradesh).

P. R. VORA
14/C Avani Flat,
Navrangapura,
Ahmedabad-380009.

J. M. SHUKLA
Maharashtra Society,
Ahmedabad-380006.

MADHUSUDAN MALLIK
'Malancha',
P O. Bolpur (Birbhum),
West Bengal.

BISHWANATH BAITACHARYA
16, Andrews Palli,
P. O. Santiniketan,
Dist. Birbhum,
West Bengal.

M. M. SHARMA
Head, Department. of Sanskrit,
Gauhati University,
Gauhati,
(Assam) 781014.

SUSAN L. SCHWARTZ
Syracuse University
Department of Religion,
501, Hall of Languages, Syracuse,
Newyork-13210, U. S. A.

PETER SCHREINER
Scheetstrasse 33,
D 7400, Tübingen,
West Germany.

B. DATTA
Oriental Insitute,
Tilak Road.
Baroda-390002.

G. K. BHAT
A-12, Svapnanagri Apartments,
Karve Road,
Poona-411004.

VIJAYA PANDYA
Sanskrit Department,
School of Languages,
Gujarat University,
Ahmedabad-380009.

P. G. LALYE
Head, Department of Sanskrit,
Osmania University,
Hyderabad-500007.

C. B. PANDE
Keeper, National Museum,
Janapath,
New Delhi-110011.

DEVANGANA DESAI
'Shanti' 1/30,
19, Pedder Road,
Bombay-400026.

JUTTA JAIN-NEUBAUER
1, Ambica Society,
Usmanpura,
Ahmedabad-380013.

LOTIKA VARADRAJAN
74, Sundernagar,
New Delhi-110003.

R. S. SINGH
Head Department of Rasa-shastra,
Institute of Medical Sciencs,
B. H. University,
Varanasi.

S. R. SARMA
Department of Sanskrit,
Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh-202001.

WALTER LEIFER
Presse und Kulturreferent,
Embassy of the Federal
Republic of Germany,
P. O. B. No. 1289,
Seoul (South Korea)

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# ERRATA

| *Page* | *Line* | *For* | *Read* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 17 | body-diri | body-dirt |
| | 25 | scienctific | scientific |
| 15 | f. n. 38 | tap | top |
| 18 | 4 | adornmets | adornments |
| 19 | 31 | desecreting | desecrating |
| 47 | f. n. 37 | liṇga | liṅga |
| 49 | 5 | whicn | which |
| 52 | 30 | imvisible | invisible |
| 56 | 5 | necessararily | necessarily |
| 67 | 18 | deitics | deities |
| 68 | 31 | know as | known as |
| 79 | 25 | *sarp-vadanā* | *sarpavadanā* |
| 80 | 5 | form | from |
| 108 | f. n. 2 | GOCHALE | GOKHALE |
| 122 | 32 | snch | such |
| 131 | 30 | folloging | following |
| 133 | f. n. 22 | God'f | God of |
| 135 | 23 | Obviovsly | Obviously |
| 137 | f. n 5 | *Sarvānkramaṇī* | *Sarvānukramaṇī* |
| 138 | 9 | Rodaṣi | Rodasī |
| 140 | 7 | requast | request |
| 143 | f. n. 2 | lexicans | lexicons |
| 162 | 18 | Interpreation | interpretation |
| 163 | 8 | difinition | definition |
| 165 | 16 | incsriptions | inscriptions |
| 167 | 16 | task to | task too is |
| 168 | 12 | some short | some sort |
| | f. n. 17 | CHOSH | GHOSH |
| | do. | USALKAR | PUSALKAR |
| 169 | 25 | *yogic* | *yaugika* |
| 171 | 31 | gifits | gifts |
| 195 | 18 | thihks | thinks |
| 197 | 25 | *Paribhāsā* | *Pa·ibhāṣā* |

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| *Page* | *Line* | *For* | *Read* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 216 | 24 | bringjng | bringing |
| 217 | 11 | obove | above |
| 219 | 10 | abtained | obtained |
| 222 | 7 | she | the |
| 223 | 10 | wit | with |
| 239 | f. n. 7 | varics | varies |
| 241 | 10 | legened | legend |
| 252 | 14 | mysteious | mysterious |
| 253 | 14 | his man | his men |
| 254 | 3 | killen | killed |
| 256 | 18 | revies | revives |
| 267 | 5 | an the | can the |
| 274 | f. n. 1 | ocerrences | occurences |
| 279 | 35 | lotos | lotus |
| 302 | 33 | succcesion | succession |
| 305 | 19 | indentical | identical |
| 310 | 20 | chidhood | childhood |
| 312 | 4 | perspiculous | perspicuous |
| | 11 | apithet | epithet |
| 322 | 18 | campaining | campaigning |
| 338 | 8 | eixsting | existing |
| 364 | 25 | thonghts | thoughts |
| 372 | 22 | allegation | alligation |
| 375 | f. n. 19 | cofined | confined |
| 376 | f. n. 29 | sthāpgyaṃ | sthāpyaṃ |
| 377 | 17 | tes | test |
| | 19 | ast | as |

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